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WILLIAM G. CARR

*Only by
Understanding*

EDUCATION AND
INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATION

Headline Series

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

16
NO. 52



MAY-JUNE 1945



HEADLINE SERIES

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HEADLINE SERIES



THE ARCTIC

In Fact and Fable

AFTER VICTORY . . .

A PEACE THAT PAYS

SKYWAYS OF TOMORROW

CANADA

Our Dominion Neighbor

ON THE THRESHOLD OF WORLD ORDER

LOOK AT AFRICA

MAINSPRINGS OF WORLD POLITICS

THE CHANGING FAR EAST

AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICIES

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LOOK AT LATIN AMERICA

(Revised)

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The Story of the Two Americas

(Revised)

OVERSEAS AMERICA

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HEADLINE SERIES

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Some service man will be interested in this. After you have read it, why not send it to your nearest camp or hospital library?

ONLY BY UNDERSTANDING

William G. Carr

Foreword

The author has his say in the pages that follow. Let us begin by calling on some others to speak:

Alexander Loudon, Ambassador of the Netherlands in the United States, says: "We shall never achieve an international relationship marked by understanding, peace, justice, and good will, unless we make full use of the instrument of organized education to that end. We people who are called 'diplomats' have our part to play, and we do it as best we can. But to those who have in charge the educational systems of freedom-loving peoples we must look for the final and basic answer to the problems of international cooperation."

Madame Chiang Kai-shek, first lady of China: "When victory is won we should see to it that the evil which has brought about the world catastrophe is attacked at the source—in the schools."

Henri Bonnet, Ambassador of France in the United States: "The educational problem will have to be considered in the future as an international one. To be convinced of that, it is enough to observe the results of the Nazi school system."

Harold Butler, British Minister in Washington: "It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the passionate devotion to peace of the rest of the world was the dictators' greatest asset in their bid for world power. That means that education for

peace and democracy is now a matter of international importance."

Cordell Hull, until recently the American Secretary of State:
"Education has a role of the first importance to play in building the foundations of a just and lasting peace."

Eighty-four per cent of the American people, according to a recent public opinion poll: "We would like to see the nations set up a world agency that would help schools in all countries teach children how to understand the people of other countries."

The next ninety pages or so elaborate the theme that these wise leaders have stated and the American people have confirmed.

I. Between the Wars

Surveying the wreckage at the end of World War I, all thoughtful people could see that organized education had played a major role in the causes and the consequences of that great catastrophe. In the United States, as in all the other nations involved, the institutions of learning had contributed well and faithfully to the nation's effort to win the war. In Imperial Germany, the universities and lower schools had been instrumental in fostering both the arrogant aggression of the ruling militarists and the docile willingness of the masses to be led to the slaughter. These relationships were clearly recognized, not only by the victorious Allies, but also by the German liberals who succeeded to the government of that defeated and dismembered Empire.

The events in the history of education which followed are heavy with significance for us today.

TWO PATTERNS OF EDUCATION

The development of educational policy followed different patterns in each of the national systems of education. In fact, educational policies were determined, and educational programs were executed, by each nation in substantial isolation from all others.

As far as the influence of education on international relations is concerned, the major powers may be divided into two sharply contrasting groups. The United States and Germany will serve well to furnish examples of each type.

THE AMERICAN STORY

In the United States, the prevailing philosophy and practice of international education were essentially idealistic. They were

based on two assumptions: that peace was here to stay, and that our own practices in education for citizenship could be determined without regard to the educational policies operating elsewhere in the world. In short, education in this country reflected in most respects the prevailing currents of popular opinion.

THE "CALL TO PATRIOTIC ACTION"

Only a few days after the United States entered World War I, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews of Boston issued a "Call to Patriotic Action" addressed to the teachers of the United States. Mrs. Andrews, a devoted and untiring worker for peace through education, had seen five years of unremitting labor for an International Congress of Education come to nothing just when the project seemed on the brink of success. Yet, neither the last minute cancellation of the proposed international congress on education, nor the United States' entry into the war, could entirely dismay her. In the "Call" she took hope again from President Wilson's plea that the statesmen of the world "plan for peace, as they have planned for war." Mrs. Andrews urged teachers to exclude hate and anger from their classrooms, to inspire their students with a love for American ideals, to encourage civic war services such as school gardens, to hold steadfastly before the young citizens the unwavering hope of a peaceful world, to continue the annual celebration of Peace Day, and to teach about the successful instances of international conciliation and arbitration.

Mrs. Andrews summoned teachers to study and teach the various plans put forward to achieve a "Concert of the Powers" and a just settlement after the war. And, in words painfully like those we now utter, a quarter of a century later, she reminded her followers that "we shall not be victorious, even though we achieve military success, unless our preparations for peace, backed

by the voice of the people, come into full fruition at the close of the war."

EDUCATION FOR VICTORY

During the nineteen months of American participation in World War I, it is doubtful whether much serious attention was paid to Mrs. Andrews' words. Like all other American institutions, the schools and colleges were immersed in war activities. In every classroom Thrift Stamps and Liberty Bonds were sold. Tin foil and peach pits (for filling gas masks) were collected by the ton. The Student Army Training Corps paraded smartly over many a football oval. The German war guilt was emphasized in the history classes. The distinction between Kultur and culture was carefully explained. In countless ways, the schools joined in the fight to make the world safe for democracy.

Yet, even when the fury of battle was at its height, people reminded themselves that this was a war to end war and, from that thought, many a teacher drew some measure of strength and comfort.

PEACE AFTER VICTORY?

Immediately after the Armistice of 1918, the drive to educate American children for the paths of peace began to move forward. In 1919, at the great Victory Convention of the National Education Association, the United States Commissioner of Education declared, with enthusiasm if not with foresight, that "isolation, as a world force, is dead." A past-president of the Association was vigorously applauded when he told the assembled educators that what the world needed most was "a League of Nations built in the hearts of children."

There was little substantial dissent from these hopeful generalizations, although the late Lotus D. Coffman, then President of the University of Minnesota, and Edward Elliott, President of

Purdue University, warned that a second world war might be caused if Germany or some other nation resorted again to the policy of education for hatred and aggression. The convention did adopt resolutions urging the creation of an international bureau of education and a system of federally-financed international exchanges of students. However, the educators in those days apparently lacked the power—or a strong enough desire—to secure action on these recommendations. Certainly the statesmen then engaged in writing the peace gave these proposals little or no serious consideration.

Thus, while our statesmen were trying to prevent World War II by means of treaties, leagues, courts, conferences, pacts, tariffs, and neutrality laws, our educational system began anew the task of building in the young a strong aversion to war, a distrust of “entanglements,” and a sincere desire to live at peace with the rest of the world.

THE GREAT CAMPAIGN

The whole educational campaign, for it was nothing less, was driven forward by an array of committees, institutes, associations, leagues, and councils, all dedicated to the task of promoting peace by making the American people peaceful. These groups poured forth a steady torrent of pamphlets, open letters, manifestoes, study plans, and earnest resolutions. If the very multiplicity of agencies and publications was confusing and wasteful, it is nevertheless true that the sum total of their efforts was impressive.

The twenties were largely years of preliminary planning, organization-forming, and promotion; the thirties saw the program come into its own, with a systematic body of literature, an organized philosophy, and all but universal acceptance in the schools themselves.

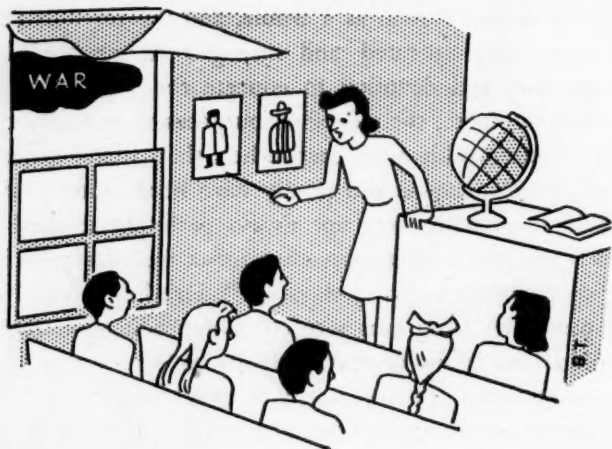
The educational system as a whole, and the teachers and administrators who operated and managed it, proceeded with diligence, skill, and devotion to educate for a peaceful world. If, in some instances, their detailed purposes were badly defined and even incompatible with each other, their grand objective—good will to all men—could hardly have been more sublime. If the teaching methods were not always perfectly adapted to the desired result, their spirit more than offset technical deficiencies.

We spoke often in those days of "education as the basis of world peace." A book was written about "education for world citizenship." Secretary of State Kellogg called for the "disarmament of the mind" to implement the Pact of Paris. A wealthy San Franciscan offered a large cash prize for the best plan to promote peace through education. Education for peace was the inspiring theme of many a speaker at the numerous conventions of the teaching profession. Curricula and textbooks were revised in an effort to eliminate material that might tend toward international misunderstanding. A professional educational society sponsored a solid report on "International Understanding through the Public School Curriculum."

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Millions of little Americans read little books about the quaint customs and endearing habits of their "Little Mexican Cousins," "Little Japanese Cousins," "Little Swiss Cousins," and so on around the world. Russian steppes, Japanese volcanos, and Norwegian fjords were patted out by chubby fingers in thousands of elementary school sand-tables. Millions of touching letters were exchanged between the children of the United States and those of other countries. Dolls, gaily dressed in national costumes, were traded across national borders.

A favorite project in the upper elementary grades was the



“international breakfast table.” The various foods and items of equipment for the morning meal were traced back to countries of their origin. Thus was presented in simple, concrete terms an illustration of the general truth that nations are interdependent, each one a contributor to, and a beneficiary of, the complex economic life of an interrelated world.

Many schools, where students represented a cross section of the widely-varied national origins of our population, used this heterogeneity to advantage in teaching and illustrating the lessons of tolerance and human sympathy.

HIGHER SCHOOLS

Up and onward through the secondary schools spread the campaign. The entire curriculum was ransacked for lessons of good will. Scientific studies showed the contributions of men and women scientists of many lands. The universal nature of mathematics as a system of reasoning was mentioned. Our young people learned to sing the folk songs, to enjoy the literary master-

pieces, to love the artistic and musical triumphs of all the nations.

Even physical education and health instruction were brought into the new perspective. Did not our health depend on the discoveries of medical men of many nations? Were the germs of disease observant of national boundaries? Could we not enjoy the national dances, play the national games of other peoples? And if, in some perverse manner the Olympics seemed often to arouse and focus national animosities, rather than to allay and regularize them, at least the Games were intended to promote the great and good aims of friendship, sportsmanship, friendly competition under accepted rules, and fair play.

The "drum and trumpet" history which J. R. Green has deplored,¹ "the record of the butchery of man by his fellows," was banished from our better schools and colleges. In its place was set instruction which honored the arts of peace and pointed out the suffering, the horrors, and the moral degradation of war. Our own history was examined with considerable candor; evidences of past national aggression by this or any other country were not condoned. In many educational institutions, military science and tactics was made a voluntary subject, or discontinued altogether.

This is not to say that our schools neglected to teach patriotism. They did teach love of country, respect for American ideals, and a desire to see those ideals fulfilled by appropriate action. The textbooks in common use breathed a spirit of fervent patriotism. There was no doubt some overemphasis in some schools upon the strictly military aspects of history; nevertheless, the trend toward international understanding was clear and vigorous.

¹ In his *Short History of the English People* first published in England in 1874.

We made a great national effort, at all levels of our school system, to train our people and our future leaders for the arts and the ways of peace. We disarmed our minds while we scuttled our naval vessels.

NATIONAL CITIZENSHIP

Side by side with this program of education for international good will there was another program of education for national citizenship. Unfortunately, the basic principles of the two programs were not well interrelated. There was not one program for citizenship; there were two citizenships—national and international—and the two were at many points inconsistent. Thus, one investigation of the international attitudes of high school students showed that four out of five students agreed that nations can no longer act independently of one another. But among the same group of students, one out of three thought the United States ought to conquer and annex the country of Mexico. Two out of five agreed to the statement that the offices of the League of Nations were in France. Years later, in 1943, a poll among adult citizens showed that four out of five did not know whether or not the United States ever joined the League of Nations.

While our schools were successfully teaching a generalized good will, we were not adequately teaching a knowledge of the most elementary facts of world organization. We developed an immense and powerful love of peace and harmony; we failed to consider seriously enough how those attitudes might find expression in practical ways. We assumed that attitudes were important, which is true; we too frequently ignored the concrete problems of international organization, which was fatal. We glorified international cooperation, but we were not equally industrious or skillful in practical studies of the ways and means

by which such cooperation might be attained. We operated, in general, on the theory that we should teach our own children peace and that what was happening in education elsewhere was neither important nor any of our business. Our eyes were lifted to the stars; we did not see the stumbling blocks about our feet.

It is undoubtedly a fact of lasting credit to the teaching profession that in 1919 its official spokesmen loyally, if unsuccessfully, supported their former colleague Woodrow Wilson in his fight to secure Senate approval of the League of Nations Charter. There were, also, many schools and colleges which gave some attention in their curricula to the League and to the World Court. Even after it was evident that the United States would not join either of these international bodies, a few schools adopted the English teaching device of "model" league assemblies, with each student acting the part of a delegate from one of the participating nations. At the best, however, such teaching was uncommon and operated in a pleasant but dangerous world of make-believe.

DISTANT DRUMS

When the cleavages between national interests and opposing ideologies which were destined to split the world into opposing camps for World War II became dimly apparent, the educational systems of the nation responded to the new situation. It was by no means uncommon in the middle and late thirties to find high school and college classes in the social studies making a careful comparison between American democracy, on the one hand, and the ideologies of Communism and Fascism on the other.

At first, there was some objection to this practice on the part of parents and other citizens who apparently feared that the totalitarian systems of thought were transmitted exactly like a disease which an unsuspecting youth might contract by mere

exposure. In the nation's capital city, for example, all school employees, including janitors and school cafeteria workers as well as teachers, were required by act of Congress solemnly to affirm, twice every month, that they had not "taught or advocated" Communism since the last payday. Under these statutes many school employees learned about Communism for the first time, nervous teachers refused to permit the words "Russia" and "Communism" to be uttered in their classrooms; others did not give textbook assignments which mentioned the Soviet Union; and delighted students, reaching covertly for these forbidden fruits of the tree of knowledge, acquired a more extensive knowledge of Soviet life than they might have done without the interdict.

After a bitter struggle this unsound legislation was ended. In Washington and in other American cities, the study of totalitarian governments became almost standard procedure.

Meanwhile, the "good neighbor" attitude toward Latin America became a major element of American foreign policy and a remarkably sustained and varied program went forward in the schools and colleges to encourage a friendly understanding toward the other American republics.

WAR

With the invasion of Poland by Germany in 1939 and the fast-following events of World War II, the comparison between American life and life in the dictatorships occupied a still larger part of the attention of educators and students. It would be folly and hypocrisy to pretend that the work of the schools in the "national defense" era from September 1939 to December 1941 was invariably marked by completely objective scholarship. Unquestionably the virtues of the American people, institutions, and practices were drawn in colors more rosy than strict truth and complete candor would sanction.

THE CYCLE IS COMPLETED

The sixty-five hours between the closing of schools on Friday afternoon, December 5, and their opening on Monday, December 8, 1941, were hours which precipitated sweeping educational adjustments. As they had done in 1917-18, American schools, teachers, and students came forward to offer their indispensable services at the call of the nation at war. Once again, the schools trained workers for the defense industries and specialists for the Armed Forces; once again, there was pre-induction training for boys and greater emphasis on physical education. Once more the schools sold War Bonds, salvaged materials, wrote letters to their alumni in the service, acclaimed the returning hero, and dedicated memorial tablets to their fallen alumni. The cycle was at last completed.

A CAUTION AND A QUESTION

We have been looking hastily at a vast panorama of educational history during a quarter of a century of American life. Many important details have escaped our attention. Furthermore, American schools were then, and still are, so widely varied in practice and policy that exceptions can always be found to any generalization. Nevertheless, the picture, in its main outlines, is a faithful likeness. And, if generalized still further, it would be a fairly recognizable portrait of the international education of many other countries, including Great Britain and France.

What, if anything, was wrong with this picture? Should our teachers and educational leaders have laid less stress on peace, or taught that it was impossible to obtain? Would the American public have permitted such instruction in the years of the Long Armistice? Why did all the careful planning, the skillful teaching, the devoted idealism of our schools fall so pitifully short of our hopes? Was there some fatal error in our educational policy?

Perhaps we shall be able to answer such questions as these if we first examine briefly what the educational system of one of our totalitarian enemies was doing contemporaneously. In painting this picture, we shall have to use a wider brush and wield it even more hastily than we have done in the preceding description of the American experience.

WEIMAR

The Constitution of the German Republic expressed a democratic spirit in educational matters. It condemned the neglect of youth, called for compulsory school attendance, and promised equal educational opportunities. Article 148 specified that all schools should aim at "moral training, a sense of civic responsibility, personal and vocational efficiency in a spirit of national German feeling and international conciliation." The system of education which developed under this charter was not chauvinistic. To be sure, it stressed German culture, but this is wholly natural, and even necessary and desirable, in any national school system.

The actual administration and much of the actual control of education was left to the several German states. Fees were reduced and scholarships were increased. The repressive school discipline of the Empire was ameliorated in the Republic. There were lively adult education programs, with the active participation of organized labor and often under its control. The educational philosophy of John Dewey and the spirit of the Danish folk schools were studied and admired.

A youth movement flourished; the various organizations comprising the National Council of German Youth Organizations had over four million members in 1927. The component youth groups had a large measure of autonomy. Over two thousand youth hostels had been established by 1929. The government en-

couraged these activities but refrained from supervision or control.

School textbooks were rewritten on a more objective basis; the activities of international student organizations were favorably regarded; history teaching stressed the values of peace; and an effort was made to educate German youth for intelligent citizenship in their community, their country, and the world.

The program met with only limited success. If the Republic had been able to survive a little longer, if economic troubles, inflation, and unemployment had been less acute, if a more thorough house-cleaning of the old teaching corps and educational officialdom had been carried out, the results might have been vastly different. But "it might have been" are not only the saddest but also the least useful words in our language. The German Republic did not succeed in the transformation of the German spirit through education.



EDUCATION FOR DEATH

By 1933 economic collapse and political incompetence within Germany and an amazing indifference and disunity on the part of the former Allies combined to bring an end to the Republic. The depraved leadership of Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist Party assumed control over German destinies. The new regime moved swiftly in educational matters. It struck down brutally the limited achievements of 1919-33 and instituted educational policies that were sharply at variance with those of the Weimar Constitution. It developed a program of education that stood in vivid contrast to that of the United States. Under the Nazi Reichminister a new order was established in German education.

Hitler realized, as some democratic leaders have not, that the success of a political and social program depends in the long run on appropriate education. He proclaimed that, "The first task is and remains the education of our people for the National Socialist Community." As soon as he came to power, he centralized all German education under a Ministry of Science, Education, and Public Instruction.

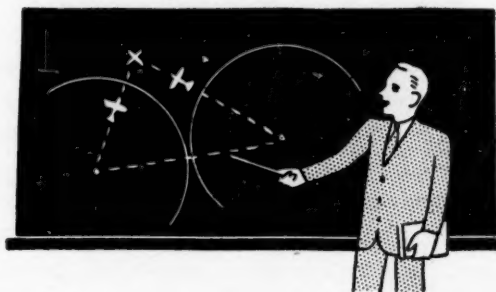
The basic elements of Nazi ideology became the controlling educational policy. In this philosophy of life, man's intimate and mystical ties to nature are the source of educational procedure. "Blood" and "race" are fundamental, humanity is a myth, "racial purity" is of primary importance, and education suppresses ideas alien to the community. Intellectual culture is therefore subordinated to physical training and the development of a strong will.

Order, discipline, and subordination of the individual to the "race" became the controlling purposes of citizenship training. The concept of an elite, a leadership, was emphasized. Education must inculcate the virtues of the warrior—heroism, constant readiness for combat, obedience to command, self-immolation for

the good of the corps. According to Bernhard Rust, Nazi Minister of Education, action is the soul of education, education is life and life is struggle, race is the vital principle of human life; education should not free the individual but should assimilate him into the social organization.

An excessive adoration of the Fatherland and an idolatrous worship of the Fuehrer were deliberately stimulated. A new history was taught in which the world-wide mission of Germany was the central motif. The military achievements of German soldiers in previous wars were glorified. Their defeat in 1918 was ascribed to the treachery of a minority.

German teachers were ordered to withdraw from professional contacts with their colleagues in other parts of the world. The rectorships of the universities and all important policy-making or administrative positions in the German school system were entrusted to the henchmen of the Nazi party, men who were often without any qualifications in scholarship or experience for their responsibilities.



Arithmetic textbooks were revised to incorporate problems involving the bombing range of aeroplanes. Scientific instruction was directly correlated to the use and refinement of weapons of war. Songs of love and friendship were replaced by arrogant hymns of hate and national pride.



In the German kindergartens little boys and girls learned a new prayer in which Hitler was hailed as their savior, and they bowed their heads while they thanked their Fuehrer as the giver of their daily bread. In the biology classes the most ridiculous racial doctrines were promulgated. Jewish children and those with any Jewish parent or even grandparent were persecuted, beaten, driven from school. Only "Aryans" were eligible for appointments to the teaching staff.

Mystical doctrines concerning the supposed special sanctity of the German "blood and soil" were taught as though they were solidly proved and established scientific truths. Scientific objectivity, the Nazis taught, is a stupid democratic error. They held that science is a racial, not a merely intellectual, product. Said a professor of Göttingen: "We renounce the international republic of learning. . . . We teach and learn history, not to say how things actually happened, but to instruct the German people from the past. We teach and learn the sciences, not to dis-

cover abstract laws, but to sharpen the implements of the German people in their competition with other peoples."

Early in 1933 the teaching staffs of colleges and universities were purged. An heretical opinion on any subject became treason to the State. World-famous scientists and teachers were callously dismissed for racial or political reasons. Even doctoral dissertations had to be checked by Party officials.

TRAINING FOR FUTURE FUEHRERS

Special schools were established for training the elite for national leadership. Ten highly selective "Adolph Hitler Schools" for boys between twelve and eighteen years provided orientation in the racial, political, and "scientific" doctrines of the National Socialist Party. The teachers in these schools were carefully chosen party leaders.

Thirty-one National Political Institutes trained leaders for the Storm Troopers, the Elite Guards, and the Labor Service Camps. According to Das Reich, ". . . war is the primary instrument of education in these institutions."

The elite of the elite were trained in the four "Order Castles." These institutions were open only to graduates of the other leader schools who had four to seven years of successful experience in the Army, the Labor Service, or the Party organizations.

Adult "education" was made the responsibility of Goebbels, the Minister for Propaganda. This shrewd and evil genius made it his business to disseminate the Party ideology among all the people. His aim was to produce conviction rather than tolerance, action rather than discussion, emotion rather than reason. All agencies of adult information were subjected to his rule—the press, the cinema, the radio, the arts.

YOUTH BETRAYED

Youth organizations were set up to replace the groups with international affiliations and to counteract any peaceful or democratic tendencies that might linger in the minds of parents. These new youth organizations became major tools of Nazi propaganda. In these societies, Hitler Youth learned that their greatest privilege and duty would be to offer their lives on the field of battle for the glory of Hitler and the Fatherland. The Hitler Maidens learned that a woman's supreme function was to bear and rear children who would do battle to recapture for Germany her historic place of world domination.

Teachers and parents who resisted these orders were severely punished by public disgrace, heavy fines, imprisonment, torture, and even by death. Freedom to teach, freedom to learn, freedom to inquire, freedom to speak became fading memories to the old and unknown license to the young.

By these and a thousand other ingenious methods, the German mind was rearmed. This mental mobilization was an essential part of, and a necessary prerequisite to, the physical rearmament of the Third Reich. It furnished the Nazi leaders with a citizenry and an army which would stop short of no base act or crime of violence, ruthlessly attack its weaker and unoffending neighbors, break the most solemn promises, impose its will on other peoples by every stratagem of trickery, every element of terrorism, every manifestation of cruelty. It equipped Germany to conduct all-out war for nearly five years and endowed both the soldiers and the home front with a frightful loyalty to the basest ideals and an unreasoning fanaticism in a wicked cause.

ITALY

These characteristics of German education would be substantially duplicated in any similar brief account of the educational prac-



tices and policies of Italy, Spain, Japan, and many of the other dictatorships which directly or indirectly allied themselves with Germany during World War II. The great Italian universities lost their independence. The youth organizations were subverted. Fascist propaganda reached by leaflet and by radio into the most remote village.

JAPAN

In 1934 the Japanese Imperial Department of Education created a Bureau of Thought Supervision when "movements of somewhat radical character arose to gain the hearts of the people" and "even teachers and various bodies of youth were found involved in them." The Bureau was staffed with "thought supervisors" and "thought inspection commissioners" (the terms and the other quotations are from the official Japanese translation into English) and these agents were dispatched from Tokyo to all the prefectures "for inspection, for guidance and for supervision in connection with thought matters." The technique by which one would "inspect" a thought has not been reported. It remains one more Japanese secret which Americans will not be likely to discover or anxious to apply.

SUMMARY

We have been looking at two strangely different pictures. The lesson to be drawn from them, it seems to me, is as clear as sunlight.



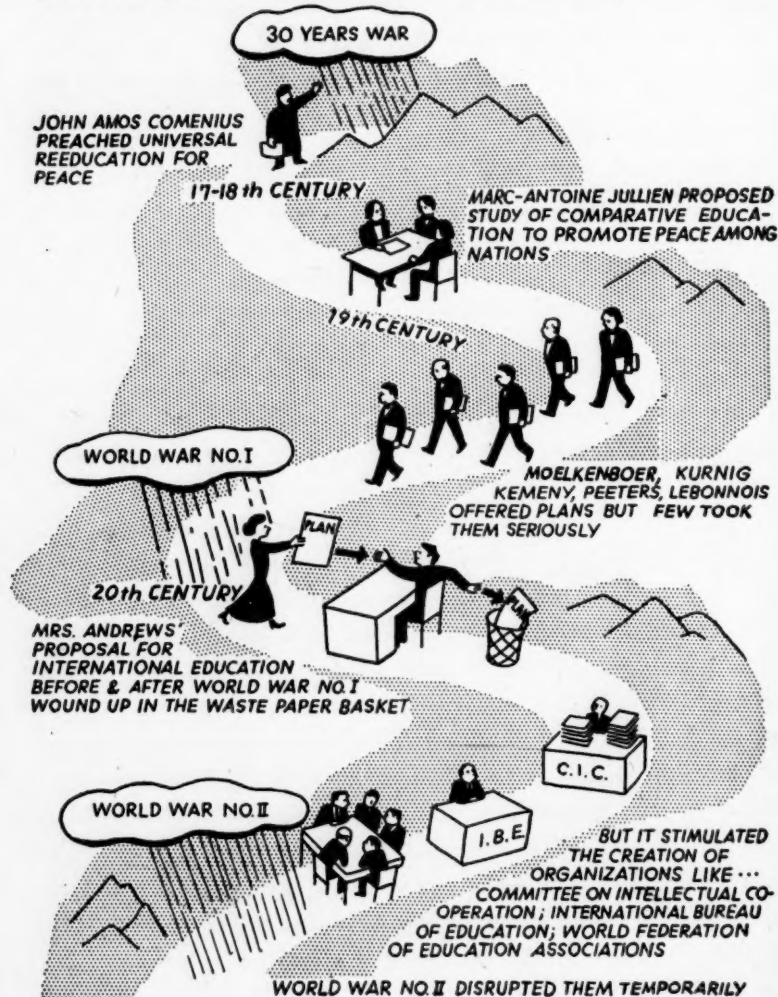
Our schools did not err in teaching that war is a bad thing and that peace is much better. The sources of weakness in our program of education for peace must be sought in factors beyond the sole control of the most skillful teachers and the most able educational leaders. The failure came because most of the American people, including most of the nation's educators and most of the nation's statesmen, did not see that the conduct of modern organized education had become, in certain limited but highly crucial aspects, a matter of international concern. These aspects of education are as international in their implications as a munitions factory or a tariff schedule. Being international, these phases of education cannot be dealt with by each country in complete independence.

It has turned out that what the German youth, for instance, are taught is inescapably our business. Since we had little interest in the matter before the war, and no way of dealing with the situation even if we had been concerned about it, we were later compelled to deal with it the hard way.

To state these conclusions is not to argue for international control of education. That is neither possible nor desirable. However, it does follow that some kind of definite, continuing machinery for international consultation in educational matters is desirable. We ought not in decency and we cannot in safety teach our own children peace while other nations teach their children lessons of the opposite kind. Unless we are prepared to shackle our own schools permanently to the war chariot, we must provide some means for international action in certain educational matters. To find such methods for the field of education is just as necessary a part of the search for the road to peace as the discovery of methods for international action in military, legal, political, and economic matters.

That search began long ago. It is continuing today. To review some of the events along the road to educational cooperation is the purpose of the second section of this article; to take stock of present proposals and prospects is the purpose of the third and final section.

TOWARD INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION



GRAPHIC ASSOCIATES

II. Trial and Error

While the sharply divergent educational practices described in the preceding section were running their isolated courses toward inevitable conflict, there was no adequate *international* cooperative effort to deal with the great force of organized education and to coordinate that force with others working toward good international relations. There were, to be sure, some tentative and limited efforts to deal with education as a social function that leaps beyond national boundaries. These efforts, few and crippled though they were, can provide constructive lessons for future action. But in order to take a good running start into this story we shall have to begin with certain events long before the First World War—as far back as the seventeenth century when nationalism, as we know it today, was at its beginning.

JOHN AMOS COMENIUS

The name written on the gateway to this, as to so many other aspects of educational history, is that of the great and wise Moravian bishop, John Amos Comenius (1592-1671). This liberal, humane teacher and pastor, although frequently persecuted, always harassed, and usually nearly destitute, was a dominant figure in the progress of European education for two centuries. His advice on educational problems was sought in Poland, Sweden, Hungary, England, and the United States. The textbooks he wrote were translated into practically all the languages of western Europe and into Arabic, Turkish, and Russian.

Comenius saw the schools and churches of his country and of Europe burned and desolated by the Thirty Years' War. Driven

from one home to another, he became at last a citizen of the world. His faith in education never wavered. Three hundred years ago he prescribed a remedy for the "disastrous and destructive flames of discord and wars devastating kingdoms and peoples with such persistence that all men seem to have conspired for their mutual ruin." The only remedy, he thought, was "some universal rededication of minds . . . not that external peace between rulers and peoples among themselves, but an internal peace of minds inspired by a system of ideas and feelings." Comenius would have promoted these lofty ideals by means of a Pansophic College where scholars from all lands might gather to arrange the elements of knowledge needed for mutual understanding among mankind.

MARC-ANTOINE JULLIEN

The next great name in the history of international education is that of Marc-Antoine Jullien (1775-1848). He was in turn a revolutionary, a diplomatic agent for Napoleon, a political prisoner, a man-of-letters. At the ripe age of nineteen, he was Assistant Secretary of the first French Department of Education. He maintained a monthly dinner meeting for visiting foreign scholars in Paris. He knew Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, the great Swiss educators, and Andrew Bell, the English teacher who developed the famous monitorial system of instruction in India. His life was a sort of continuous international conference on education.

In 1817 Jullien published "A Preliminary Outline of a Study in Comparative Education." He proposed a special commission on education to collect detailed information on education in the nations of Europe. Such an inquiry, he argued, would not only increase the effectiveness of education everywhere, but also promote unity and peace.

Jullien worked out in detail the questions to be covered in such an inquiry—tuition charges, the qualifications of teachers, the time devoted to various levels and subjects of instruction, the conduct of physical education, punishments, moral and religious training, school vacations, education in the home—several hundred items in all. No government took Jullien's proposals seriously, but his place is secure as the father of comparative studies in education.

EARLY PLANS

After Jullien followed a series of other dreamers and planners—the Dutch Möelkenboer and his scheme for a permanent international council of education, the German Kurnig and his international consultative center for education, the Hungarian Kemeny and his plan for an international institute of pedagogy, the Belgian Peeters and his international bureau of educational literature, the Frenchman Lebonnois and his international institute of education at Caen, and very many others. The plans of these men are only dusty records, yet each added something to the still uncompleted exploration of the path to international cooperation in the realm of the mind and the spirit.

MRS. ANDREWS NEARLY MADE IT

In all the years before the First World War, it remained for an American woman, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews of Boston, to come the nearest, and yet not quite near enough, to the attainment of the goal so many others had foreseen. Holder of the doctorate in International Law from Harvard University, Mrs. Andrews directed an agile mind and apparently boundless energy toward the great purpose of education for peace. Late in 1911 she secured the encouragement of President Taft. In March 1912, she persuaded the Secretary of State to set in motion the elaborate

machinery of diplomatic correspondence looking toward the calling of an international conference on education. It was suggested that the Netherlands government call the conference at The Hague. The Netherlands government, however, at first declined the honor, adding that Holland itself did not wish to be represented at such a conference.

Mrs. Andrews at once began efforts along a new line. She proposed that the government of the United States call the conference. In the midst of these efforts a reconsideration came from The Hague. The Netherlands government would call the conference after all. But, the message added, it would prefer to wait a year in order that the agenda might be carefully prepared.

The mills of diplomacy turned slowly. The second message from the Netherlands had arrived in June. It was September before Mrs. Andrews could leave for Europe as an accredited agent of the American government to discuss the conference agenda with the Netherlands government. When she reached Holland, she was informed that perhaps some preliminary conference with other governments was desirable. It would not do to rush these matters! Undaunted, the lady from Boston set out on a round of the major European capitals for this purpose. In November she was back at The Hague with an agenda. Then, with the understanding that the conference would be called in 1913, she returned home.

The invitations did go out as promised in January 1913. Apparently everything was in gear for success. But when, in April, the status of the project was reviewed, it was found that only France and Switzerland had replied to the bid to the conference table. Even the United States had not accepted.

What was wrong? The explanation, at least for the delay of the United States, was as simple as it was devastating and unanticipated. It turned out that the United States, chief promoter

of the conference, could not accept the invitation because Congress had recently passed a rider on a deficiency appropriation forbidding the American government to participate in any more international conferences whatsoever without explicit Congressional approval. And Congress was not in session. It was the middle of May before Congress reconvened and granted permission. Meanwhile, the Netherlands government had once more postponed the conference, this time to September 1914.

By this time, the foreign offices of Europe were buzzing with many things other than an international conference on education. The German government announced in January 1914 that it would not participate. Sixteen governments did accept. In July, the Dutch government suggested further postponement until 1915. Several members of the American delegation were already at sea, en route to the conference. On August 17, Mrs. Andrews received a note from Henry Van Dyke, the American Ambassador in Holland: "By this time you will have realized that there is not much chance for Educational Conferences in Europe this Fall. And they are needed more than ever!" So World War I put a red period to all the hard work and all the dreams.

WOODROW WILSON LISTENED POLITELY

The next scene in our history takes place at the Hôtel Crillon in Paris. The time: April 1919. Woodrow Wilson, Colonel House, Lord Robert Cecil, General Smuts, Dr. Wellington Koo, Baron Makino and other representatives of the victorious Allies were just finishing the draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Before them, by appointment, appeared a committee of women, Mrs. Andrews among them, urging that the League of Nations should include an international office of education. Resolutions from the General Education Board, the National Education Asso-

ciation of the United States, the National Union of Teachers of England and Wales, and other groups were offered in support.

The inevitable written memorandum was submitted to the great statesmen. Its closely-reasoned arguments can hardly be improved upon today. First, the League of Nations should be not only an agency of peace but also an agency of civilization; therefore, education must be included in its interests. Second, if the League is to endure and prosper, the youth of the world must learn about its purposes and its activities; loyalty to the League must be developed by education just as national loyalties are fostered. Third, "the liberation of mankind can take place only through democratic, forward-looking education to which all people have equal access."

The authors of the memorandum proposed an explicit text for Article 22 of the League Covenant:

"The High Contracting Parties will endeavor to make the aims and methods of instruction accord with the guiding principles of the League of Nations and, for this purpose, they are agreed to establish a permanent international bureau of education which shall form an integral part of the League."

The statesmen had allotted the committee thirty minutes of their time. It may safely be added that they listened politely, for statesmen nearly always do. The ladies concluded the presentation of their proposals. President Wilson expressed his pleasure at hearing their remarks. If all their proposals were not accepted, he assured them, it would not mean that the drafting committee was in disagreement with them. No, it would be due solely to the fact that the League of Nations could not solve at one blow all the problems of mankind. The ladies withdrew. That was the last anybody heard of Article 22 or of education in the Covenant of the League. There was an international labor organization; there was a World Court; there was explicit mention of health, trade,

and transit; there was no international agency in education nor any mention of the subject.

THE LEAGUE ASSEMBLY DELETES "EDUCATION"

The next scene is the Assembly of the League of Nations, and the year is 1921. During its first formative years, the League had no agency for dealing with educational matters, but the question of the advisability of such an agency kept bobbing to the surface. In September 1921 the Council of the League had considered a proposal by Leon Bourgeois that a committee of leading educators and scientists be named to prepare a program of action for the League in the fields of education and science. Acting favorably upon this proposal, the Council decided to recommend to the Assembly the following resolution:

"The Assembly requests the Council to designate a Commission to study questions of international intellectual cooperation *and education*. This Commission shall consist of not more than twelve members named by the Council. The Commission shall present at the next session of the Assembly a report on the measures which the League might take to facilitate intellectual exchange among the nations, especially as concerns the communication of scientific data and *of methods of education* . . . The study of the project to create an international bureau of *education* (proposed in the Council's Report of March 1, 1921) shall also be referred to the aforesaid Commission."¹

DOUBTS AND FEARS

The resolution was approved unanimously, although Arthur Balfour of Great Britain expressed some doubt whether the League would be able to deal with these questions.

The resolution came before the Committee on Humanitarian Questions of the League Assembly eight days later. The Yugo-

¹ Italics are the authors.

slav delegate, M. Avramovitch, thought the whole matter ought to be referred to a subcommittee for further study—without prejudice, of course. He was particularly troubled, he said, by the word “education.” The presiding officer inquired whether the word “education” might not be misunderstood, and give the impression that the League intended to take the direction of education into its own hands. How anyone could have gained any such impression is difficult to understand. Nevertheless, the explosive word *education* was deleted and the resolution approved without it.

All this discussion, it should be noted, occurred in a special Committee of the Assembly. There was still the hope that education might be recognized by a plenary session.

Gilbert Murray, distinguished Professor of Greek at Oxford University, had the task of presenting the subject to the Assembly. He pointed out that *education* had been dropped from the Bourgeois resolution. He deplored the nationalistic tendencies which had invaded instruction in almost all countries and said flatly that these tendencies constituted one of the greatest perils to humanity. These tendencies, he added, were poisonous and ought to be eradicated. But, he said, these matters should be dealt with by each country. He was willing to assign the question of League participation to the proposed Committee on Intellectual Cooperation.

ONE BOLD WORD

There was in that Assembly one man, and apparently only one, who was willing to say a bold word in favor of restoring the word *education* to the resolution. This man was Dante Bellegarde of the little Caribbean republic of Haïti. Bellegarde was a speaker of force and eloquence. From the floor of the League Assembly at Geneva on September 21, 1921, he delivered a moving plea for frank consideration of the importance of education to the

endurance of the ideals which had given birth to the League of Nations.

This, he said, is not a question of interfering with the internal educational policy of any nation. What, he asked, does the Assembly wish to accomplish by creating this Commission on Intellectual Cooperation? It is to bring together, and to make available to all nations, the fruits of the human mind and spirit. If we want to do that, how shall we, how can we, afford to ignore the very development of the human mind itself? This is not a question of giving educational directives; it is a question of putting each nation in touch with the best in the field of education for all peoples. It is certainly true that educational methods will vary because each nation desires to progress in the spirit of its national tradition; but it is equally true that the human spirit is one. It is of great value, therefore, to exchange the educational studies made everywhere.

M. Bellegarde paused to offer a motion: "That the Assembly restore in the text which is submitted to us the words, *and education.*" In view of the international spirit, of which Professor Murray has just spoken, he concluded, it is extremely important that there be an exchange of pedagogical works, in order to achieve that unity in variety which is here desired.

Haiti is not one of the great powers and the delegate from that small half-island was not in a position to rally others to his cause. And, since all Assembly acts of this kind could be defeated by a single negative vote, he at length withdrew his amendment and acquiesced in a resolution establishing merely a Commission on Intellectual Cooperation.

THE C. I. C.

Even the narrower field of intellectual cooperation had to wait until 1926 before the Assembly placed this activity on the same footing as the other recognized organs of the League. The budget

of the Commission on Intellectual Cooperation for this purpose was pitifully inadequate. Funds were available for only one meeting of one week per year; the only paid staff was an assigned member of the League Secretariat. As the new Organization for Intellectual Cooperation started its work in 1926, seven years after the drafting of the Covenant, it might justly be said that the attention given to education by the League was little, late, and half-hearted.

Despite these handicaps, the Organization for Intellectual Cooperation conducted many valuable activities. With special support from the French Government, it operated the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Paris. It organized and initiated international conferences on universities, radio, libraries, museums, history, and social studies. At the invitation of the Chinese government, an educational mission was sent to that country to assist in developing there an effective modern system of education. It studied and certified educational films for customs-free entry under the Convention of 1933.

The Organization wisely decided to adopt a policy of decentralization of its activities. National Committees of Intellectual Cooperation were established in some forty countries. The effectiveness of the bodies varied widely, of course, but many of them were active and useful. They were designed to serve as a liaison between the International Organization for Intellectual Cooperation and the schools, colleges, and other cultural agencies of their respective countries.

The Organization for Intellectual Cooperation often undertook to render special services at the request of individual governments or of the League and its allied organizations. It was asked by the League Assembly to prepare an international convention to regulate educational broadcasting. This was done and the convention was subsequently ratified by thirty states. It drafted another

convention on the tariff-free circulation of educational films. It prepared a declaration on the teaching of history. For the International Labor Office, it undertook an inquiry on the facilities for the leisure time of workers. It prepared reports that were useful to League of Nations experts who were studying population problems. It was well on the way to a substantial improvement of the international copyright agreements when the war broke out.

The activities of the Organization, although greatly reduced and hampered, continued during the early years of the war. With the German occupation of Paris, intellectual freedom and intellectual cooperation became alike proscribed, but since the city has been liberated, the Institute has been able to begin to take up its work again.

In a review of the work of the Organization, M. Henri Bonnet, a former director of the Institute and now the French Ambassador at Washington, points out four major necessities for intellectual collaboration in the future. I state them here to conclude this section, hoping that I have concretely interpreted and summarized his extended experience in this field of international activity. First, a new world agency in this field must be stronger, larger, and well-financed. Second, it should deal comprehensively with all cultural aspects of international life. Third, the educational problem must be tackled directly, along with the general cultural problem. Fourth, an international agency in this field must possess a substantial measure of autonomy and yet be legally and consciously included in the general framework of international society.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE EXPERTS

In 1926 the Council of the League of Nations established a Committee of Experts to consider the instruction of children

and youth in the aims and objects of the League. This Committee, after a year's study and consultation, published a short report. Noting that the League and its supplementary agencies would necessarily be far removed from the experience of the ordinary young person, the Committee urged that teachers be provided with charts, slides, films, and reading material adapted to the needs and interests of children of various ages. It was recommended that all children receive such instruction, beginning in the primary school, and that it be correlated with the teaching of geography, history, civics, and ethics.

It was suggested by the Committee that each country select one or more of the following methods for encouraging such instruction: (a) providing training facilities for teachers at Geneva, (b) setting aside a special day each year on which special attention would be given to the League, (c) instituting competitions among students for the best essay on a subject connected with the League, (d) providing suitable material for teachers' and students' libraries, (e) facilitating the work of private associations among young people out of school hours, (f) including questions on the League in examinations, and (g) utilizing exhibits and the radio for presenting material on the League.

To universities, the Committee recommended the institution of a series of at least six lectures on the League, to be open to all students, the selection of problems connected with the League as subjects for theses, and the requirement of a course in international law for all law students.

The various nations which were members of the League were asked to report at intervals to the Commission on Intellectual Cooperation on the way in which these matters were handled by their respective educational systems, and these reports were published by the Commission. The Commission also served to

provide a limited but continuous secretariat for some of the many private international societies of scholars, scientists, and artists.

THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION

Meanwhile, what the League could not, or would not, do to gear the power of education to the great purposes of the League, was attempted by the private efforts of individuals and corporations. Under private auspices there was established at Geneva in 1925 an International Bureau of Education. The agency did those things which a private agency, without adequate funds and without government sponsorship, could do—and, within those limitations, it did them well.

In 1929 the Bureau was reorganized as an intergovernmental institution, controlled and partly supported by the member governments or their ministries of education. It grew slowly; by 1938 there were only 17 members. Most of the nations which were members were small powers—Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Colombia, Ecuador. The United States and Great Britain stood aloof. They neither joined the Bureau nor supported it. The Bureau had no official connection with the League of Nations.

Under these very great handicaps, a devoted staff accomplished enough to demonstrate clearly the value of such an undertaking. They arranged annual international conferences of great value and prestige. They wrote and published over eighty studies in comparative education and a yearbook of educational progress. They founded, and still issue, a quarterly *Bulletin* containing reviews of important works on education from all over the world and "News Notes" on important educational experiments and innovations. They developed a good library, including a section on children's literature, and they maintained exhibits of public instruction.

Even under wartime conditions, the Bureau has shown the

vitality of the idea on which it rests. It still maintains an extensive correspondence. Its wartime service of intellectual assistance to prisoners of war has provided nearly half a million books.

Certainly the experience of the International Bureau of Education and of the League's Organization for Intellectual Cooperation should be fully utilized in future programs to place international relations in education on a broad, permanent, well-financed, official basis.

SOME OTHER EFFORTS

A multitude of other international activities in education seem to clamor for space and attention in this brief chapter. Most of them cannot even be mentioned because of limitations of space. But there are three that must be introduced, even though the introduction will have to be by means of examples rather than by a full account. These are: (1) the cultural relations programs of certain governments, (2) regional collaboration in education and (3) private associations and activities.

CULTURAL RELATIONS OFFICES

Many governments include in their diplomatic offices strong divisions of cultural relations. The United States, which established such a division in its State Department in 1938, was the last great nation to adopt a program of this sort.

GERMANY

During the Weimar Republic the German government, although reduced in economic and military power, made serious efforts to regain German cultural prestige abroad. By 1931 Germany was spending about 15 per cent of the total Foreign Office budget for this purpose. *Auslandsschulen* played an important role, as did the press, the radio, and the cinema. When the Nazi party came

to power an effort was immediately launched to bring all German citizens living abroad into active participation in the Nazi programs. Germanic culture was identified with Nazi culture. All Germans were to be united in the Third Reich, not only those in Germany itself, but also all who lived in territory occupied by Germans anywhere in the world.

GREAT BRITAIN

In 1934, spurred on by the active programs of other European powers, the British Foreign Office brought about the establishment of the British Council, a quasi-official body with support from both public and private funds. Its program, at first, was not large. It encouraged British institutes and English studies in foreign schools, especially in Egypt, the Middle East, the Balkans, South America, and Portugal. In 1940 the Council was incorporated under a Royal Charter, for ". . . developing cultural relations between the United Kingdom and other countries, for the purpose of benefiting the British Commonwealth of Nations." It has grown rapidly in recent years. The Chairman of the Council has said that, according to the Greek and Yugoslav governments, the resistance of those nations to Italy and Germany was "in large measure due to the work of the British Council."

FRANCE

The French program was the first of the great national efforts of this kind. M. Raiberti, reporting for the Budget Commission (Foreign Affairs) in 1919, declared that "intellectual and moral expansion is the best way to prepare for economic expansion." Responsibility for cultural relations abroad was centered in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The *Oeuvres francaises à l'étranger* included four sections: universities and schools, artistic and library, travel and sport, and aid to such private organizations as

the *Alliance française*. By 1936, about 20 per cent of the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was devoted to the cultural relations program. There were 30 French Institutes abroad and a network of French elementary and secondary schools in Europe, the Americas, the Near East, and the Far East.

THE UNITED STATES

The Division of Cultural Relations (now the Division of Cultural Cooperation) was created in the American Department of State in 1938. According to Dr. Ben M. Cherrington, the first chief of this Division, it has been guided by three articles of faith:

1. International cultural relations should be reciprocal—a voluntary sharing process.
2. International cultural relations exist to serve mankind; they "should never be exploited to serve some irrelevant purpose of state."
3. Cultural exchanges should involve the direct participation of the people and institutions concerned; they should stem from the authentic centers of culture.

THE INTER-AMERICAN PROGRAM

The best single illustration of international activities in education within a particular region, is the program for educational and cultural relations between the United States and the governments of the other American republics. The principal Federal agencies active in this work are:

1. The Interdepartmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation in the Division of Cultural Cooperation, Department of State—a coordinating agency.
2. The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs—an operating agency. Its Inter-American Educational Foundation, a government corporation, carries on a cooperative

educational program between the United States and Latin American countries.

3. The Division of Inter-American Educational Relations of the United States Office of Education, Federal Security Agency.

Among the means through which these agencies function are the exchange of students, teachers, teaching material, art, music, motion pictures, radio, and United States schools and libraries in Latin America.

EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS



In spite of wartime restrictions on transportation and manpower, the number of students from other American republics studying in the universities of the United States has more than doubled in the last five years. There were, in September 1944, about 2,200 Latin American students in our institutions of higher learning.

At a meeting of foreign ministers of the American Republics at Buenos Aires in 1936, an inter-American agreement was signed for the promotion of inter-American cultural relations. This convention provides for the international exchange of two graduate students annually and one or more professors every two years. Sixteen nations had ratified this convention at the close of 1943. The government which nominates a student is responsible for travel expenses; the government receiving the student pays tuition, board, and lodging. The government nominating a professor pays all expenses. Exchanges under this plan began in 1939-40; through 1943, the United States had received sixty-three and had sent abroad twenty-nine students.

The appointment of United States students to study abroad has been suspended for the duration of the war. However,

American students have continued independent travel to near-by Latin American countries. It is estimated that about a thousand American students, mostly girls, studied in Mexico in the summer of 1943.

Augmenting the exchange under the Buenos Aires Convention, the Department of State arranged in the academic year 1940-41 for self-supporting students en route to the United States to receive a reduction in transportation fares. In the same year, Congress approved a budget for travel grants to outstanding students who could not otherwise come to the United States. A year later, Congress voted funds for maintenance grants for students from the other American republics. In 1943-44, 234 students were helped in this way. These students came from every American republic and studied in over 100 different colleges and universities, mostly in graduate schools of medicine, dentistry, agriculture, social science, and science and engineering.

The Institute of International Education of New York City assists with the selection of candidates and maintains statistics on the various fellowship plans developed by universities and colleges, foundations, corporations, and Latin American governments.¹ It has opened a special Washington office in order to maintain a closer working relationship with the Department of State. The Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan American Union works in close cooperation with the Institute and helps advise institutions in the selection of Latin American students for scholarships.

Government agencies cooperating with the Department of State in the exchange of educational personnel with Latin Amer-

¹ This is by no means a complete statement of the work of the Institute. Its program antedates by many years the recent surge of interest in inter-American affairs. Its contacts are world-wide and its leadership in the field of student exchange is unquestioned.

ican countries include the Division of Inter-American Educational Relations of the United States Office of Education and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.

EXCHANGE OF TEACHERS

Universities in Europe have excelled those of the Western Hemisphere in utilizing foreign professors and lecturers. A few of the largest universities in the United States, at their own expense, have appointed one or two foreign professors each academic year. The Institute of International Education has served as a liaison agency for the teaching and lecturing programs of many foreign scholars visiting the United States. A number of colleges and universities abroad, especially those of American religious affiliation, have appointed professors from the United States.

However, all these activities together equal only a small fraction of the international movement of professors in Europe before the war. Even during the war, European nations have maintained in Central and South America more visiting professors than have been sent there from the United States. The presence of French professors in many South American universities is undoubtedly one of the causes, as well as one of the results, of the high regard in which French culture is held in those communities. French, German, Italian, and British professors have been aided by subsidies from their governments.

It is seldom possible for the Latin American universities to pay all expenses of a foreign professor, because most of these institutions pay their professors only part-time salaries and expect their staff members to augment their income with outside work. Few European or North American professors are willing to teach on this basis. To offset these difficulties, the Department of State has given assistance to a few carefully-selected lecturers. Professors of English were sent to the other American republics under

the Buenos Aires Convention. During the three year period which ended in June 1943, and in answer to invitations from individual universities, the Department assisted twelve professors to go to the other American republics and brought five professors to teach in the United States.

EXCHANGE OF EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

In 1941, the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, through the American Council of Learned Societies, began to assist in the translation into Spanish and Portuguese of books published in the United States and the translation of books from those languages into English. This assistance usually consists of a payment for translation rights or for a certain number of copies of each book. The books are issued and distributed by commercial publishers and bookstores.

In addition, important government publications which serve a widespread need in the other American republics are translated by the Department of State itself, printed by the Government Printing Office in editions which may run as high as 15,000 copies, and distributed through our diplomatic and consular offices.

The Division of Inter-American Educational Relations of the United States Office of Education has prepared summaries of significant articles, books, and studies on education which appeared in publications in the United States and in the other American republics.

During 1944, the Office of Education assembled materials for teaching inter-American subjects in fifteen different "loan-packets." These were distributed to approximately 3,000 schools in the United States. Materials were also distributed to teachers, students, Pan American Clubs and other educational institutions.

The Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan American

Union also provides a loan service to schools in the United States—a collection of textbooks of several Latin American countries as well as other teaching materials. It “sponsors the exchange of art exhibitions, school work and school correspondence, and publishes in Spanish and Portuguese technical pamphlets on educational topics.” In addition, it issues once or twice a year, in Spanish and Portuguese, a mimeographed publication containing items of interest to Latin American teachers.

EXCHANGE OF ART AND MUSIC

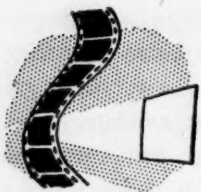


The inter-American art activities, originated late in 1940 by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, were transferred to the State Department in July 1943. These activities included the exchange of art exhibits, travel grants to outstanding artists, and distribution of more than 8,000 copies of art publications in the other American republics.

Recent activities for exchange of music among the American republics began at a conference of music leaders called by the Department of State in October 1939. Out of this gathering grew new programs for musical exchange sponsored by the Library of Congress, the Pan American Union, the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and the Department of State. Recently the Music Division of the Pan American Union and the Music Educators National Conference, a department of the National Education Association, have cooperated in a comparative study of music education in the Americas.

MOTION PICTURES AND RADIO

At the end of 1943, American officials were arranging exhibitions of educational films in forty-two countries. Audiences exceeded



2,000,000 persons a month. The total reported audience for 1943 was over 17,000,000. This distribution is conducted jointly by several government agencies, which also translate the commentaries into the appropriate language.

The cultural relations program of the Department of State is especially concerned with radio broadcasts which attempt to describe the people of the United States, their history, their great citizens, and their scientific and artistic achievements. A series of fifty-two half-hour recordings of music prepared jointly by the Office of the Coordinator and the Department of State tell the story of the American people through music. The Office of the Coordinator also prepared a series of fifty-two half-hour English lessons for broadcasting in the other American republics. Other government agencies have produced scores of radio programs on American science, history, and biography.



UNITED STATES SCHOOLS IN LATIN AMERICA

About 195 schools in the other American republics are sponsored by citizens of the United States. Most of these are primary schools. Total enrollment at the close of 1943 was estimated at 47,000. Religious organizations founded 127 of these schools, 44 were established by industrial corporations, and 24 derived their support from "American colonies" of residents. These schools are considered valuable bridgeheads of understanding. They facilitate the teaching of English, demonstrate United States educational methods, and bring together different nationalities.

Axis nations were reported at one time to be sponsoring 888 schools in the Western Hemisphere; of these, 75 per cent were German, 15 per cent Japanese, and 10 per cent Italian.

Prior to 1941 our government gave no financial aid to United States schools in Latin America. Some of these schools were suffering severely from the war. Local donations had decreased, many Americans had returned to the United States with their families, and many of the best teachers were resigning. It was decided that grants-in-aid should be extended to a few of the independent schools for emergency operating expenses necessitated by the war and for capital equipment which would add materially to the prestige of the schools. Up to December 31, 1943, nine American schools received such aid. The Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs extended this assistance through a grant to the American Council on Education which had created a service bureau for United States schools in other American republics.

LIBRARIES

During 1942 and 1943 the United States Government opened libraries in Mexico City and Montevideo. About 60 per cent of the readers in these libraries are reported to be nationals of the country in which the library is located; 25 per cent are citizens of the United States, and 15 per cent are citizens of other countries. These libraries also offer public lectures, exhibitions of art, motion pictures, conferences for teachers and librarians, and classes for the teaching of English. The libraries are administered by the American Library Association under a grant-in-aid from the Department of State. Each operates under a board of directors, composed of citizens of the United States and of the country in which the library is situated.

The American Library Association was given funds by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs to distribute books in English to representative libraries in the other American republics. Five hundred libraries in Central and South America were

selected and "to each of these libraries a quota of funds was assigned, and the librarian was notified that he might order books and periodicals from the American Library Association to the amount of this quota." Books must be chosen by the foreign libraries and not by the United States Government; books distributed must be written by United States citizens in English.

The 22 cultural institutes operated by the United States in Latin America include libraries of fiction and reference works. The Institutes at Rio de Janeiro and Santiago each has more than 3,000 volumes and reports over 500 readers a month. It is not unusual to hear visitors from the other American republics declare that relations between their country and the United States have been greatly improved by this library service or by the many other forms of Institute activity.

It should be emphasized that the preceding paragraphs give only a partial and highly condensed account of inter-American activities in education.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES

Thus far, we have been considering governmental efforts to promote international relations in educational matters. The activities of private national and international societies represent another vast field of activity—one which the author hesitates to describe and evaluate because of the limitations of space and the magnitude of the task. (There are about 600 different organizations listed by name in *The Study of International Relations in the United States, Survey for 1937*, by Dr. Edith E. Ware.) However, I shall describe one private organization which, it seems to me, falls most completely within the scope of this article and one which very well reflects in its history the points of strength and weakness in such efforts.

THE WORLD FEDERATION OF EDUCATION ASSOCIATIONS

In 1922, the National Education Association of the United States invited educators from the nations of the world to meet in San Francisco to discuss the formation of a world organization. Six hundred educators from about 60 nations came to the meeting. A constitution was drafted, the World Federation of Education Associations was incorporated under the laws of New York State, and the next conference of the Federation was scheduled for 1925 in Edinburgh. Voting membership in the Federation was extended not only to nation-wide educational organizations but also to local and regional organizations. The aims were to secure international cooperation in education, to disseminate information concerning educational developments, and to cultivate international peace and good will. These objectives have been promoted by the biennial conferences (San Francisco in 1923, Edinburgh in 1925, Toronto in 1927, Geneva in 1929, Denver in 1931, Dublin in 1933, Oxford in 1935, Tokyo in 1937), by correspondence and other contacts, by a bi-monthly periodical, and by the promotion of World Good Will Day (May 18) in the schools.

During the war the Federation has become almost completely inactive. Funds, which were always far too limited, have dwindled to practically nothing. During its entire existence, the Federation has never had a professional staff, despite the devoted volunteer efforts of its officers. When war came, its officers were separated not only by distance but also by the fact that some of them were citizens of enemy countries. There has been no fully and strictly "legal" meeting since the Tokyo Conference in 1937. The officers in this hemisphere have tried continually and with great personal sacrifice to keep the organization alive until the coming of peace. No doubt the Federation, or some improved reincarnation of it, will live again after the war. In 1944, as in

1922, the National Education Association announced its intention to call a world conference of the teaching profession to assemble as soon as conditions permit.

The World Federation of Education Associations was not the only organization of its type. There were several other somewhat similar organizations, including the New Education Fellowship and the World Association for Adult Education.

NO COMPETITION WITH OFFICIAL AGENCIES

The experience of the Federation indicates clearly two conclusions. First, there is a field of real importance and value for an international association of voluntary and private organizations. Such an organization can do many things that an international agency sponsored by governments cannot undertake. Second, such an organization ought to be paralleled and buttressed by an international office of education. There need be no question or debate as to whether an official or unofficial agency in education is best. Both are needed; each can strengthen the other.

What are now the prospects for an educational agency at the governmental level? Will the experience of 1914-1939 be repeated, with its limited successes and its many failures? Or may we expect to see emerging from World War II a fully effective international office of education, functioning in education as, for example, the World Court, the International Labor Organization, the International Postal Union, the International Red Cross, have functioned in the fields of law, labor, communications, and relief?

III. And Now, What?

Interest in international action in cultural and educational matters has recently been at a high pitch both in the United States and abroad. Studies of the question—and plans for the future—have been numerous, promotional activities extensive, and the total problem is now breaking up into several relatively independent parts.

The *first* of these has to do with the educational policy to be pursued toward the defeated enemy nations, the *second* with reconstruction of education in the war-devastated countries of our Allies, and the *third* with long-range programs for international cooperation in dealing with educational problems.

We shall examine each of these areas separately and in turn.

I. EDUCATION IN THE ENEMY COUNTRIES

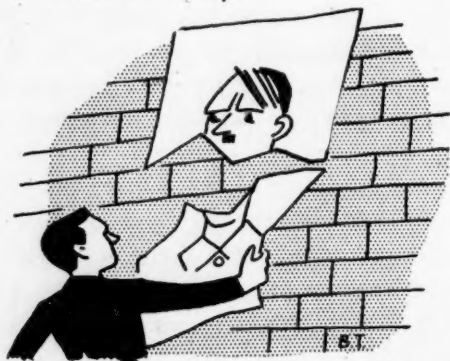
After considerable debate and uncertainty, some basic decisions regarding the immediate future of German education have apparently been reached. The Yalta communique referred explicitly to the agreement among the Big Three to destroy Nazi and militaristic *cultural* institutions. The methods to be followed in accomplishing this destruction are not described or discussed in the announcement. However, we have a clear indication of American military policy in General Eisenhower's orders on the subject.

With the stern authority of the soldier, the Allied Supreme Command has brushed aside the arguments of those who fear that any Allied attempt to deal with German education would be accompanied by resentment and end in failure. General Eisenhower certainly expects the Germans to resent the Allied con-

quest and control. Clearly, he believes that Nazi education is nevertheless so intimately related to the resistive and recuperative powers of the enemy that it must be destroyed.

All educational institutions, except orphanages, are to be closed as soon as territory comes under American control. All Hitler youth organizations are to be dissolved. The teaching staffs are to be thoroughly examined and Nazi teachers and school officials are to be dismissed. Elementary schools are to be re-opened first, secondary schools next, higher institutions last. No instruction which glorifies Hitler or other Nazi leaders is to be permitted. Education which creates hatred toward, or division among, the United Nations is likewise forbidden. Finally, there must be no interference with the teaching of religion. Those are the orders; no doubt they are being executed. Publication of pre-Nazi German texts has already begun under Allied supervision.

General Eisenhower's proclamation is an admirable document. It will be a messy business to clear the Nazis out of the German schools and universities, but it is a job that has to be done in order to clear the ground for future steps. And it is a job for military action. Nazi education is a hostile force, still as dangerous to our ultimate victory as were the troops, warships, or munitions factories of the enemy.



AFTER OCCUPATION

It does not detract at all from these favorable comments on our announced military policy to ask what educational policy will follow that of the period of military occupation. Some think the occupation will be a very long one; others expect it to be short. Certainly it will not be eternal. And, sooner or later, when it does end, what will follow?

From this point on, the Allied policy is not yet clear, either with respect to economic and political matters or with respect to education. In large measure, the educational policy will depend on the political and military policy. On all these points there is controversy and apparent confusion.

At this writing, one conclusion seems to be justified: As long as the victors have any responsibility for any aspect of German life, they will have a responsibility for German education. When we can be safely indifferent to the building of armament factories in Germany or to the drilling of German military formations, then we can afford to be indifferent to what happens in German schools and universities. Not before. Perhaps not even then, for an educational system that arms the mind could easily precede and cause the manifestations of more overt actions inimical to the peace of the world.

As for Japan, although no formal announcements have been made, Admiral Halsey has declared that there should be a prolonged occupation of Japan by United States forces and that, during this period, we can attempt to educate the younger generation of Japanese away from the false philosophy of their so-called Shintoism. No doubt much that will be learned from our experience in dealing with Italy and Germany will be applied in Japan.

In the earlier years of the war, the opinion was occasionally expressed that American teachers should be sent to take over the German schools and teach German youth the ways of democracy.

The suggestion was never seriously supported by any responsible group of American educators. One seldom hears the proposal for an American Educational Expeditionary Force today. It is now recognized that the reeducation of the Germans must be accomplished in part by demonstrating through their defeat the falsity of the myths of invincibility on which they have been nurtured, and in part by the use of Germans who have not been ardent adherents of the Nazi programs. How many such Germans there are cannot be quickly determined. If there are not enough trustworthy Germans left alive, it would be better to close the German schools or to restrict the enrollment to those who can be decently taught. In time, a new corps of teachers might be trained to take over the task of recivilizing the people of that unhappy land.

Certainly the whole problem of education in the enemy countries is one for careful study by qualified experts of the United Nations. Some capable American educators hold positions as civil affairs officers in the American Army. From first reports, they appear to have enjoyed some measure of success in the democratization of the Italian schools and universities; we may perhaps hope for the same results in Germany and Japan.

II. RECONSTRUCTION OF EDUCATION IN LIBERATED COUNTRIES

Educational institutions in the occupied countries have been casualties of war. School, college, and library buildings have been destroyed, books have been burned, scientific equipment and works of art have been looted, teachers have been killed, and students have been carried away to forced labor.

The Germans appear to have followed two different policies with respect to education in the occupied countries. In Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Yugoslavia, the policy has been one

of wanton destruction. Since these nations are, from the Nazi point of view, inhabited by supposedly inferior races destined to be the servants of the Germans, there would be no need for any but the most rudimentary schooling, and that for only a few people. In the German view, "slaves need no leaders," and therefore they needed no education.

EASTERN EUROPE

In Czechoslovakia the Gestapo chiefs honored the educational profession by ordering their men to round up the teachers first. In Poland, it is estimated that 40 per cent of the intellectual class has been annihilated. In occupied Yugoslavia, there were no secondary schools or universities open to citizens of that country. Walter Kotschnig, who has studied the problem intensively, concludes that under German occupation eastern Europe was "turned into an intellectual desert."

In spite of German spies and persecution, some aspects of education managed to survive. There were underground universities and schools and an underground convention of Polish teachers.

WESTERN EUROPE

The occupied countries to the west of Germany were treated somewhat differently. Since their people were held to be akin to the Germanic "race," they were supposed in theory to be allowed to continue to receive a substantial measure of education. The quality of education, however, could not be permitted to remain liberal and democratic. An effort was made, not so much to destroy the schools as to subvert them.

In Norway, an effort was made to compel teachers to establish a sort of Hitler Youth among their students. In one of the truly heroic gestures of this war, the Norwegian teachers refused to

comply with these "suggestions." They issued a manifesto which will remain forever as one of the great expositions of the democratic spirit in education. Many Norwegian teachers were arrested for this refusal to collaborate; many died in prison camps in the Far North. But their cooperation could not be bought by bribes, coaxed by threats, or extorted by punishment. The same general story has unfolded in France and the Low Countries.

MORAL AND PHYSICAL DETERIORATION

Apart from the frightful destruction of the physical plant and equipment of the schools, some of it deliberate and some of it a result of the military action of both friend and foe, there is a serious damage in the miseducation of the young during the period under Nazi occupation. Some youths, like some adults, but with more pardonable error, became collaborators. They were educated in the Nazi fashion and with the same destructive results.

Other youths resisted the occupation, attacked and killed the hated foreigner, stole from him, set fire to his supplies, wrecked his trains, blew up bridges and did all manner of acts which are as a rule illegal and immoral, and would be discouraged in any person, young or old. And yet, at an impressionable age, these acts of blood and violence were naturally counted as the noblest and most patriotic achievements. It would be surprising indeed if the sense of moral values of these young people should emerge unaffected by their terrible experiences.

Finally, there are the effects of the malnutrition, disease, and neglect which were visited upon many of the children of the occupied territories. Sick, hungry, frightened children do not grow to a proper maturity; they need special care and education if their deprivations are not to leave extensive ill effects on them for the rest of their lives.



CHINA

The report of the Chinese Minister of Education, covering the experiences of that member of the United Nations which has fought longest in this war, gives a picture of education in China which is at once inspiring and terrible.

Of 108 pre-war Chinese universities, 91 have been destroyed or occupied by the Japanese. Even as early as 1942, property damage was estimated roughly at 100 million dollars to higher education, 200 million dollars to primary and secondary education, and 200 million dollars to libraries, art collections, museums, and other cultural agencies.

Nevertheless, amid the infinite distractions of invasion, bombardment, privation, and oppression, the Chinese have clung to their schools. Teachers and students have built their own classrooms, libraries, dormitories. Whole universities have been moved *on foot* hundreds of miles inland. New programs of education

in scientific subjects, civic training, music, and international relations have been introduced.

THE CONFERENCE OF ALLIED MINISTERS OF EDUCATION

The presence in London of many exiled governments of the occupied European countries led quite naturally to consultations and cooperative studies on the problems of re-establishing normal educational services when those countries were liberated. There was accordingly formed in London, late in 1942, a Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, composed of representatives of the ten European nations then occupied by Germany. The British Minister of Education served as chairman. Observers were sent to the meetings of this Conference by the International Labor Office, the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and by most of the major Allied powers. The Conference has been concerned almost exclusively with immediate technical problems of restoring educational services—for example, how modern scientific equipment could be obtained to re-establish the technical and professional schools. Some of the participating countries have reserves which permit them to pay the costs of educational reconstruction in cash. In other countries, the destruction was so extensive and the remaining financial resources were so limited that some kind of assistance is needed and desired.

THE COMMISSIONS

The Conference works largely through commissions engaged in detailed studies of special questions. The Commission on Basic Scholastic Equipment developed standard units for estimating the needs for supplies for elementary schools. The Commission on Scientific and Laboratory Equipment prepared a check-list of some ten thousand items which would be needed. It is expected that American and British manufacturers will receive the larger

part of these initial orders for basic school and scientific equipment. The liberated countries are agreed that they will discontinue their former practice of relying heavily upon German manufacturers for scientific supplies, even if it were possible to secure them from the former sources. The Commission on Books and Periodicals has attempted to organize collections of books published since the outbreak of the war for use in the libraries of the devastated countries, and to encourage the production of certain books for use by these nations. An Inter-Allied Book Center was created to take charge of the first part of this task. In the United States, the American Library Association has cooperated closely with the entire project. Because of the extensive demand for modernizing and extending the work of European school systems, a special Commission on Films and Visual Aids in Instruction has also been set up.

Although the problem of restoring and replacing the teaching personnel in the liberated countries is one of the most serious which they face, there has been no special commission for dealing with this problem. Some of the soldiers and civilians of the liberated countries have had some opportunity for continuing their education in Britain. Some of the interned and prisoner-of-war soldiers of these countries have obtained some university training during the period of their imprisonment. In general, there appears to be no desire to bring to the occupied countries any large number of American teachers. These nations would prefer to send their students to the United States and to Great Britain for teacher education. They will certainly discontinue the practice, common before the war, of sending young men and women to Germany for advanced training in various specialized fields.

The Conference Commission on the Protection and Restoration of Cultural Material has collected information which it has made

available to the British and American agencies (the Roberts Commission and the MacMillan Committee) that are responsible for protecting and returning looted art objects, archives, manuscripts, and precious books.

AMERICAN PARTICIPATION

Until the autumn of 1943, the American government was represented by an observer from the American Embassy in London. At that time a member of the Department of State was sent to London for two months, to make further studies of the work of the Conference. Soon after his return, the American government announced its intention to collaborate with the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in planning for the restitution of educational services and activities in the war-devastated areas of the Allied Countries. To implement this decision, the State Department sent a delegation to London in April 1944. The United States did not become an official member of the Conference, but it did cooperate actively in its work.

U. N. O. E. C. R.

The outcome of the participation of the United States in the London meetings was the drafting of a constitution for a United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction. This plan was brought back to the United States by the American delegation early in May 1944, and was submitted to the United and Associated Nations for study and comment. While the reactions of the various United Nations have not been made public, it is known that a considerable number have tentatively approved the draft Constitution.

This document consists of seven sections: (1) a statement of the reasons for international cooperation in educational reconstruction; (2) definition of the functions of the organization in terms which permit it to work on matters of educational recon-

struction and also contain the possibility of the organization becoming a permanent body with broader activities; (3) provision for membership now for all United Nations, and to other nations after the war; (4) provision for an Assembly with equal representation and voting power, an Executive Board to be elected by the Assembly, and a Secretariat; (5) financial provisions, including an administrative fund and a rehabilitation fund; (6) provisions for ratification and amendments; and (7) provisions requiring members to supply information about education and cultural matters, and provisions regarding the relation of the organization to other international and private agencies.

Since the return of the American delegation in May 1944, events in Europe have moved forward dramatically. The liberation of all Europe from Axis control is accomplished. It is now too late for United Nations action in the *first stages* of reconstruction of the educational systems of these nations.

Until recently, it was supposed that action of a cooperative character in educational reconstruction would be useful as a stepping-stone toward a more continuous and broad-gauge program of educational cooperation among the United Nations. It now appears rather doubtful whether events will move in that direction. It is probable that the next step will be the establishment of a permanent International Office of Education, one of the temporary functions of which might be to assist liberated countries in the later stages of their travel forward to educational stability.

U. N. R. R. A.

Before leaving the subject of educational reconstruction, however, a word should be said about the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which has an obvious and direct connection with the problem.

When, in November 1943, representatives of the United Nations came together in Atlantic City for the purpose of establishing a relief and rehabilitation administration, the Chinese representatives and others indicated a definite interest in having the restoration of educational services included among the functions of this proposed agency. In the agreement for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, educational reconstruction was neither included nor excluded. Apparently the matter is left to the discretion of the administrative agency. The enumerated functions of the Administration include: the provision of food, clothing and shelter; aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people; the repatriation of slave labor, refugees and exiles; the resumption of agricultural and industrial production; and "the restoration of essential services."

Whether education is to be defined as an "essential service" appears to be an open question. One of the resolutions of the Council of the Relief and Rehabilitation Agency, however, explicitly states that the administration will seek to insure the provision of supplies and services for the rehabilitation of public utilities and services and that it will give "assistance in procuring material equipment for the rehabilitation of educational institutions."

UNRRA operates in any particular territory only with the approval of the government of that territory. Apparently no government as yet has formally asked UNRRA for assistance in connection with its schools. That may come later; attention at the moment is concentrated primarily on the fight against starvation, pestilence, and social disintegration.

When the participation of the United States in UNRRA was before the Congress, the State Department found it necessary to give explicit assurance in writing that UNRRA could not and

would not engage in "educational, religious, or political activities."

III. AN INTERNATIONAL AGENCY FOR EDUCATION AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

In the past three or four years there has been a vast amount of public discussion and study regarding the possibility and desirability of establishing an International Office of Education and Cultural Development, as a part of the total machinery established by the United Nations to maintain the peace. These discussions have been conducted in both governmental and non-governmental circles. The bibliographic notes for this section will give some idea of the scope and range of the publications which have appeared in this field in recent years.

An important announcement on this subject was made from San Francisco by Archibald MacLeish, Assistant Secretary of State, on May 12, 1945. The United States Government has developed, with the advice of organizations interested in cultural and educational exchange, a charter for a United Nations agency in this field. This charter is being discussed informally with the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education and with the other members of the "Big Five." It is hoped that there may be a United Nations Conference on the subject following the conclusion of the San Francisco United Nations Conference on International Organization.

Meanwhile the ground for securing Congressional approval had been laid by the introduction of Joint Resolutions in the House of Representatives and the Senate. These resolutions, sponsored by Representative Mundt and by Senators Fulbright and Taft, favor the establishment of a permanent international agency for education and cultural development. They specify that the proposed agency must not interfere with domestic policies in educa-

tion. These two resolutions were passed unanimously by the respective branches of the Congress in May 1945.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES

A maze of private organizational activities center on and around this problem. Scores of civic and professional organizations have given the matter serious attention and have published recommendations, adopted resolutions, or taken other action designed to assure the inclusion of an International Office of Education and Cultural Development in the overall structure of the United Nations. The National Education Association, through its Educational Policies Commission and otherwise, has directed its efforts primarily to the teaching profession. The American Association for an International Office of Education has secured support for the proposal among the general public. The International Education Assembly has held three meetings in the United States (Harpers Ferry, 1943; Hood College, 1944; and New York City, 1945), attended by unofficial representatives of most of the United Nations. The Universities Committee has actively promoted the study of the question among the faculties of higher institutions. The American Council of Learned Societies has been particularly interested in the value of an international agency in promoting international cooperation in scholarship and research. The American Council on Education has engaged in extensive studies, bearing especially upon the educational relationship between the United States and Latin America, between the United States and Canada, and between the United States and Asia. The American Library Association has operated effectively in planning restoration of library services in devastated areas. The American Association of University Women and a long list of other important civic organizations have encouraged discussion of the problem among their local organizations. The Commission

to Study the Organization of Peace has sponsored two important studies of the question. The National Committee of the United States of America on International Intellectual Cooperation has published several pamphlets growing out of its experience in working with the Commission on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. Most of the foregoing organizations and about thirty others work together in the Liaison Committee for International Education. In England there are the Council for Education in World Citizenship, the London International Assembly, and other organizations.

To present in detail the various proposals of these and many other groups would serve no useful purpose here and, within the limits of this discussion, would be impossible in any case. Instead, let us try to summarize what appear to be some of the main conclusions of those who have studied the problem most closely.

RELATION TO GENERAL SECURITY AGENCY

There is general agreement that there should be an International Office of Education and Cultural Development and that such an agency is not only desirable in itself but that it will also be an important factor in the effective operation of the political, economic, and legal machinery of the United Nations. It seems to be generally agreed also that the International Office of Education and Cultural Development should be related in some manner to the general international organization but that, because of the peculiar necessity for freedom of thought and action in the field of education, the agency should have some degree of autonomy and should exercise direct control of its own funds and budget.

MEMBERSHIP AND DELEGATES

In current discussions of the composition of the agency, the experience of the International Labor Office has been drawn

upon rather heavily. It has been felt that the national delegations to the controlling body of the International Office of Education and Cultural Development should be broadly representative of the educational and cultural interests as well as of the government of the country. There are some countries in which it would be difficult or impossible to make a distinction of this kind, but in the more democratic countries there is a considerable value to be derived from making it possible for the teaching profession and other persons interested in the promotion of education to have some official status and responsibility in connection with the delegations from their respective countries.

The relatively simple machinery of the International Labor Office, under which delegates from each country represent the government, the employers, and the workers, is not readily transferable to the field of education. To meet this problem, it has been suggested by Dr. I. L. Kandel and others that the experience of the League Commission on Intellectual Cooperation be utilized. If that were done, there would be established in each country a National Commission on Education and Cultural Development which would assist its government in the selection of delegates and in the formation of policy. The widest variety would prevail, and should be expected, in the practices of the several nations in creating and managing their respective National Commissions. In addition to assisting in some manner in the selection of the delegates to the organization, the National Commissions should be of great value in disseminating the recommendations and the reports of the international body within their respective countries. The National Commissions would thus become two-way channels through which national problems, policies, and aspirations in the field of education could flow to the international body and through which, on the return trip, the recommendations, information, and proposals of the inter-

national body could be made available to the public and the teaching profession of the various countries.

VOTING, FINANCE, STAFF

There has been little discussion, either in the literature or otherwise, of the voting procedure to be followed in the Assembly of the International Office of Education and Cultural Development. In general, it seems to be the present opinion that, in the field of education, each nation should count as one, without regard to its size or to its political and military power.

As for financing, it is proposed as a rule, that the member nations should each contribute to the general budget of the International Office of Education according to some agreed-upon formula, in a fashion somewhat similar to the way in which the International Labor Office and other international organizations are supported.

As in all international agencies, or in national or local agencies for that matter, there would need to be an efficient staff, constantly at work upon the problems involved. This Secretariat should be international in character.

FUNCTIONS

It is agreed on every hand that it should be no part of the responsibilities of the proposed international agency to compete with or to replace effective private efforts at international cooperation in educational and cultural matters. It would, on the contrary, be the purpose of the inter-governmental agency to facilitate these private activities in every possible way and to undertake itself those activities which are especially appropriate for governmental and international action.

Further analysis of the functions of the agency leads to a useful classification of two types of activities: (a) those designed

to spread information regarding national policies and achievements in education and to make educational research and educational materials as widely available as possible, and (b) those which encourage instruction in the schools, and in the less formal educational agencies, to promote international understanding, good will, and peace. A part of the second group of functions would be to encourage the schools of the member nations to teach the facts about the general international security agency and other related parts of the international structure.

A CONTROVERSIAL FUNCTION

On only one point does any major disagreement appear to exist among the proponents of an International Office of Education. Some of those who have worked upon the problem, and this writer is one of them, believe that the agency should be keenly interested in evidences of teaching which develop international understanding and peace or which, by fostering ill will, hatred, and the spirit of aggression might endanger the peace of the world. Those of us who hold this point of view believe that such aspects of education are international business and should be dealt with in part by concerted national action under an international agreement.

This opinion does not mean that the International Office of Education and Cultural Development would give its main attention to spying on the schools of the member nations. It does not mean that the international agency for education would become a policeman with coercive powers to force any nation to change any policy with respect to its own education. It simply means that if, in the course of its continuous studies of educational progress and problems, the Secretariat of the international agency should become aware of educational tendencies that appear to be dangerous to the peace of the world, it would promptly

report its findings at first to the government concerned and then, if no remedial measures were taken, to the next meeting of the Organization. If the Organization believed that the judgment of the staff is correct, it might call the situation to the attention of the offending country and ask that corrective measures be taken. It might concurrently attempt by conference, mediation, or other non-coercive means to alleviate the condition. If after a reasonable length of time any nation, large or small, should insist upon continuing education looking toward international hatred, or in teaching damaging untruths about other countries, or in any other way developing a mental armament which appears to endanger the peace of the world, the International Agency for Education should be obligated to report that conclusion to the public and to whatever general international agency may be charged with maintaining international security.

Beyond that point, no one wants to see the International Office of Education proceed. Its duty in this particular respect would be fulfilled when it had located dangerous tendencies of education, attempted peacefully to remedy that condition, and, failing in peaceful efforts, had called the dangerous situation to the attention of the general security agency. Less than that would make the agency weak at a crucial point; more than that would carry it into areas where it does not belong and could not usefully act.

This point of view is an admitted challenge to complete national independence in education. It holds that there are certain types of education which are so dangerous to all of us that they should be discouraged in every possible manner. It holds that it is better to detect and counteract such tendencies at any early stage, than it is to wait until the tendencies produce a nation which is irrevocably educated for aggression and war.

Those who disagree with this point of view insist that if the

international agency for education is entrusted with any power whatever to take note of unfortunate educational policies, such actions would constitute an improper interference with the internal policies of a nation. Such persons favor a policy of strictly limited powers for the international agency of education and they are convinced that such limitation of power is necessary both for the establishment of such an agency and for its effective functioning.

SOME WIDELY ACCEPTED FUNCTIONS

It would, of course, be a function of an International Office of Education to serve as a clearing house for all types of international intellectual and cultural activities. It would maintain a library, including collections of teaching materials, recordings, films, and apparatus. It is perhaps not too visionary to think that the agency might some day operate an educational radio station, sending out educational programs which would be universally available to those schools which wanted to listen to them. The agency might well supplement the efforts of private organizations in arranging for the international interchange of teachers and students.

Many countries which are not highly developed in their educational systems wish to establish modern programs of education. For such countries as might request expert technical assistance, without undue national or partisan bias, the International Office of Education would be available to supply experts in special fields, or even a large staff recruited especially for the purpose, to examine educational needs and problems and to suggest policies and procedures. The availability of such service would not in any way deny the possibility of bilateral action.

A CHARTER

Another task which an international agency for education might profitably undertake would be the drafting of an international



charter of education for a free world. Such a document should set forth the basic minimum requirements of education, both as to quantity and quality. It would have to be a document of generalizations, expressing ideals and hopes rather than accomplished fact. It should result from a series of international discussions. These discussions might be more important than the resulting documents.

Some work on such a document has been done by at least two private agencies and these preliminary explorations should be utilized. The Educational Policies Commission has proposed the following items to illustrate the material which might be included in an international charter for education:

1. Universal schooling, including education for health, vocational skills, and intellectual development.
2. Equal access to educational opportunity at all levels.
3. All teaching institutions to be devoted to the development of tolerance, justice, and good will.
4. A continuing system of adult education opportunities in the study of personal, social, and economic problems.
5. Complete academic freedom and complete academic responsibility and accountability for the teaching staffs of schools in all parts of the world.

6. Definite factual instruction at every level in all school systems concerning the history, culture, psychology, and problems of other peoples.
7. Instruction in all school systems concerning the world organization and other problems of international relations.
8. Systematic efforts to improve the preparation and background of teachers for giving instruction concerning international problems.

Another document developing this idea at greater length was issued by the International Education Assembly in 1944. These proposals, adopted after four days of careful discussion by a group of educators unofficially representative of thirty United Nations, are as follows:

1. Education develops free men and women.
2. Everyone should be educated.
3. Opportunities for advanced and adult education should be ample and justly distributed.
4. Modern tools of communication should be fully and freely used for popular enlightenment.
5. There should be complete freedom to learn.
6. Education should enrich human personality.
7. Education should develop economic competence.
8. Education is concerned with the development of character.
9. Education should develop civic responsibility and international understanding.

Such principles, officially adopted by an international agency, would provide both a spur to educational progress and a lever for lifting educational standards. They should, of course, be constantly re-appraised and, from time to time, revised.

These are a few of the general functions which the International Office of Education might well undertake. No doubt others would be added as time brought experience.

OBJECTIVES

There would be, in all probability, general agreement that the major continuing objectives of an International Office of Education and Cultural Development would be to assist the member nations in lifting the levels of education and culture in their respective countries, to improve the quality and increase the quantity of their educational service, to encourage the teaching of mutual understanding, and to discourage other kinds of teaching.

THE PROSPECTS FOR ACTION

When we inquire what the prospects are for governmental action in creating an agency of this kind, we can perhaps summarize the situation by saying that, while there is a strong public demand for such action and little, if any, opposition, many are still unaccustomed to thinking of education as one of the important activities of international cooperation. There is therefore a tendency to move rather slowly in entering this field.

DUMBARTON OAKS

Speaking before the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, the head of the Chinese delegation, Dr. Wellington Koo, said that the government of China would like to see collaboration begun in these fields. His concluding words are worth quoting, for they are eloquent and, as Dr. Koo took pains to point out, they are official:

“While the safeguarding of international security is an essential condition to the general welfare and peaceful development of humanity, positive and constructive efforts are also required to strengthen the foundation of peace. This can only be achieved by mitigating the causes of international discord and conflict. It is therefore our belief that the new organization should also concern itself in the study and solution of economic and social problems of international importance. It should

be able to recommend measures for adoption by member States, and should also play a central role in the directing and coordinating of international agencies devoted to such purposes. With the continuous revelation of the wonders of science and the unending achievements of technology, a systematic interchange of ideas and knowledge will be invaluable in the promotion of the social and economic welfare of the peoples of the world. Similarly common effort should be made to advance international understanding and to uproot the causes of distrust and suspicion amongst nations by means of *educational and cultural collaboration*.

"The few observations which I have just presented reflect the general views of the Government and people of China."

Although the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals do not specifically mention education, an International Office of Education could be conveniently fitted into the picture under the Economic and Social Council. Moreover, the chart and other materials circulated by the American State Department to inform the American people about the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, specifically mention an international agency in the field of education and cultural matters as a possibility. This recognition is no cause for surprise when we remember that it was former Secretary of State Cordell Hull who as early as June 1943 declared that "education has a role of the first importance to play in building the foundations of a just and lasting peace," and that this general policy was supported by the creation of the Division of Cultural Relations in the State Department and by the sending of the American delegation to the London Conference. It is perhaps significant that the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, meeting in Mexico City less than two months before the San Francisco conference, voted to transmit to the participants in the latter conference a suggestion that "the desirability of creating an international agency specially charged with promot-

ing intellectual and moral cooperation between nations" be taken into consideration in revising the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Furthermore, the State Department invited two major educational organizations to name consultants to the United States Delegation at the San Francisco Conference.

SAN FRANCISCO

On the day the San Francisco Conference opened, it was announced that the Chinese government and the governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R. had "agreed to support" certain proposals. One of these proposals states that "The Economic and Social Council should specifically provide for the promotion of educational and other forms of cultural cooperation." How vigorously this proposal will be pushed is, at the moment, uncertain. Many delegations have declared their support of it. On the other hand, the "Big Four," in their joint memorandum of recommended amendments, at first entirely eliminated the word "educational." This omission may have indicated a deliberate desire to avoid educational cooperation on the part of one or more of the delegations, thus repeating the exclusion of education as decided in 1923 by the League of Nations Assembly. On the other hand the omission perhaps meant nothing more than an opinion that "cultural" automatically includes "educational," an interpretation which in the opinion of many persons stretches the word "cultural" past the breaking point.

As these final paragraphs are being written, it has been announced at San Francisco that the appropriate Conference Committee has, on the motion of the United States Delegate, unanimously voted to add the words "promote educational and cultural cooperation" to the statement of purposes of the United Nations Economic and Social Council. Furthermore, a reference

to education has been incorporated in the important chapter on Trusteeship. It now appears all but certain that these references to education, and perhaps others, are in the Charter of the United Nations Organization to stay. The announced policy of our State Department, the unanimous support of the Congress, and the proposed language of the San Francisco Charter now combine to indicate a feeling of responsibility for an effectual educational program, and therefore make the outlook seem full of hope.

SUMMARY

We have seen from history, and we should learn from experience, that educational isolation does not preserve the peace. We have seen that it is not enough for the United States or any other one nation to teach its people to love peace. We have traced the failure of some of the hopeful proposals of the past. We have seen some of the successful illustrations of partial measures of international cooperation in education. We have reviewed some of the current proposals and the status which these proposals now enjoy.

The next six months will probably settle the question of whether or not after this war, the statesmen of the world will make education a matter of serious concern in international affairs. Statesmen have not done so heretofore. We know that one of the most powerful forces in modern social life is education—education in schools, in colleges, and in less highly organized institutions. Few will deny that this great force should be directed toward the preservation of international peace and that suitable machinery should be set up for this purpose. Whether such machinery will be set up, how much power it will be given, and what success it will have, time alone can tell.

Every great change in human society, from tribal government to nationalism, from chattel slavery to modern capitalism, has been accompanied by equally profound changes in the structure,

scope, and purposes of organized education. The influences between a society and its educational system are reciprocal. The dominant social values of any particular era determine the kind, the amount, and the distribution of education. Education in turn plays its part, not only in perpetuating these social values and ideals but also, in varying degrees, in modifying and adjusting them to meet new conditions. The degree to which organized education merely mirrors the past, or serves the present, or foreshadows the future, depends on a variety of factors, and especially on the vision, leadership, aggressiveness, and resourcefulness of the educators themselves. If, as many believe, and all hope, the world is moving from a period of intense and lawless nationalism to an era of growing international security and justice, we may be sure that in some way or other appropriate adjustments in education will need to be made and will play their part in promoting the peaceful intentions of mankind.

The most ardent advocate of international collaboration in education will hardly claim that it is a complete solution to the complex world problems of today. Nevertheless, it is an element essential to the solution of the jigsaw puzzle of international justice, security, and peace—an element heretofore undirected, an important piece of the total solution that must be properly and carefully fitted into the growing picture of international life.



FOR FURTHER READING

NOTES ON CHAPTER ONE

These notes attempt only to give bibliographic information on the materials mentioned, but not adequately identified, in the text and to acknowledge indebtedness to those published materials which have been most useful in writing this Headline Series article.

I do not know of any substantial history of the impact of World War I on American education. This account is based on my own memories and general reading. My copy of *A Call to Patriotic Action* is a four-page printed leaflet, dated at Boston, April 10, 1917, and signed, Fannie Fern Andrews. There is no other bibliographic information on it. The 1919 discussions and actions of the National Education Association are fully recorded in the *Proceedings* for that year.

The literature of the campaign for peace education was ephemeral; a cross-section of the early literature and some useful generalizations about it may be found in my *Education for World Citizenship* (Stanford University Press, 1928). The facts about the Herman-Jordan prize may be found in the 1923 *Proceedings* of the National Education Association. The most thorough description of the American program of international education at its crest is undoubtedly the 36th *Yearbook*, Part II, of the National Society for the Study of Education (*International Understanding Through the Public School Curriculum*, I. L. Kandel and G. M. Whipple, special editors, Bloomington, Indiana: Public School Publishing Co., 1937). The information on international attitudes of high school students is from Robert Frederick's "An Investigation into Some Social Attitudes of High

School Students (*School and Society*, 25: 410-12; April 2, 1927). There are many more recent (and extensive) studies; this one is mentioned because it was made just as the educational campaign for international good will was shifting into high gear.

For American practice in the study of democracy and totalitarianism a good deal of specific descriptive material is available in *Learning the Ways of Democracy* (Washington: Educational Policies Commission, 1940). Dr. Bessie L. Pierce's *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930) is the definitive study in its field. The story of Washington's "Red Rider" is briefly told in the *Journal* of the National Education Association for September 1937.

Three pamphlets of the Educational Policies Commission exhibit the reaction of American education to World War II: *Education and the Morale of a Free People* (1941); *A War Policy for American Schools* (1942); and *What the Schools Should Teach in Wartime* (1943). The files of *Education for Victory*, an official wartime journal of the United States Office of Education, supply a running account of educational adjustments to World War II.

On German education, both for the Weimar and the Nazi periods, I relied very heavily on an able, lucid, and carefully documented series of articles by Leon W. Fuller (Department of State *Bulletin* for October 22, October 29, and November 5, 1944). These articles deserve a much wider and more general audience than their present specialized, professional circulation. I do not pretend to be able to summarize them; they should be read in full by all who want to get at the inside of the German educational problem. There are several more popular treatments of the subject, notably Gregor Ziemer's *Education for Death* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1941) and Erika Mann's *School for Barbarians* (New York: Modern Age, 1938). One of

the first books to draw attention to the meaning and purpose of Nazi education was I. L. Kandel's *The Making of Nazis* (1935).

The material on the Japanese Bureau of Thought Supervision is from a pamphlet issued in 1935 by the Japanese Imperial Department of Education to explain their system of education to English-speaking students and tourists.

In the "Foreword": Mr. Loudon's statement is from the *Newsletter* of the Liaison Committee for International Education (No. 3, p. 8); Mme. Chiang's, from *We Chinese Women* (New York: John Day Co., 1943, p. 52); Mr. Butler's, from a broadcast over CBS, July 15, 1943; Mr. Hull's, from a letter to the Educational Policies Commission, dated June 21, 1944, and published in all subsequent editions of *Education and the People's Peace* (Washington, D. C.; National Education Association, 1943; p. 3); Mr. Bonnet's, from his *The United Nations: What They Are, What They May Become* (Chicago: World Citizens Association, 84 East Randolph Street, 1942); and that of the American people from *Public Opinion on World Organization* (National Opinion Research Center, University of Denver, pp. 24-25).

NOTES ON CHAPTER TWO

On Comenius, see I. L. Kandel's article "John Amos Comenius, Citizen of the World" (*School and Society* 55:401 ff.; April 11, 1942). On Jullien, see the same author's article, "International Cooperation in Education; An Early Nineteenth Century Aspiration" (*Educational Forum*, November, 1942). Extracts from Jullien's pamphlet first appeared in the United States in the 1826 volume of Henry Barnard's *American Journal of Education*. The standard work on the history of international organization in education is P. Rossello's *Les Precurseurs du Bureau International d'Education* (Geneva: International Bureau of Education, 1943,

303 pp.). This document has just recently become available in an abridged English translation by Marie Butts (*Forerunners of the International Bureau of Education*, London: Evans Brothers, Russell Square).

For the work of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, I have relied mainly on the account by Henri Bonnet, formerly Director of the Committee, and at present French Ambassador in Washington (*Intellectual Cooperation in World Organization*. Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, 24 pp.). The International Bureau of Education is discussed in Miss Marie Butts' chapter on the subject in the September 1944 *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. On the activities of State Departments in the promotion of cultural relations, see the chapter by Ruth MacMurray in the same volume. I have also drawn upon the chapters by Henry Lester Smith, Kenneth Holland, John W. Studebaker, Carl Milam, and Stephen Duggan for materials on the World Federation of Education Associations and on the inter-American program.

For additional material on the inter-American program the following are especially useful:

Hanson, Haldore, *The Cultural Cooperation Program 1938-1943*.

Department of State, United States of America. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1944.

Lawler, Vanett, *Music Education in 14 American Republics*.

Washington: Pan American Union, 1945. 34 pp. (Spanish and English text in the same volume).

Report of the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan American Union, Washington, D. C. November 10, 1941.

Rowe, L. S., *Pan American Union 1890-1940*. Pan American Union, Washington, D. C., 1940.

Studebaker, John W., *Annual Report of the United States Office of Education*, 1944. U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945.

For the work of the Committee of Experts see: *How to Make the League of Nations Known and to Develop the Spirit of International Cooperation*. Geneva, 1927. (Publications of the League of Nations, 1927, XII, A, 9.)

NOTES ON CHAPTER THREE

General Eisenhower's declaration of December 16, 1944, on German education—or a summary of it—has been widely published. The full text is available in several places, for instance, in *School Executive* 64: 36-7; February, 1945. Admiral Halsey's statement is in *Collier's* for April 28, 1945.

The best full-length survey of Nazi damage to education in the occupied countries is Walter Kotschnig's *Slaves Need No Leaders* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1943). The figures on China are from *Chinese Education During the War* by Chen Li-fu, formerly Minister of Education (Published by the Chinese Ministry of Education, November, 1942).

A brief official account of the Council of Allied Ministers of Education has been written by Ralph E. Turner and Hope Sewell French (State Department Publication No. 2221, 1944, 8 pp.). The full text of the draft Constitution for the proposed International Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction has not been made public. A summary of it was issued by the Secretariat of the Conference of Ministers of Education (3 Hanover Street, London, W.1) and was carried in many metropolitan newspapers of the United States about May 3, 1944.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement is available in many sources (Department of State Publication No. 2040, for instance); the explicit reference to educational institutions occurs in Resolution No. 1, section 11, paragraph 4. For further explanation of the attitude of the United States on this question, see *The Congressional Record* (House

of Representatives, January 25, 1944, page 693 ff; Senate, March 21, 1944, page 2845 ff.)

Following is a partial list of some of the recent major documents which deal with a permanent international agency for education.

Carr, William G., editor. "International Frontiers in Education."

The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. 3457 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania, September, 1944.

Carr, William G., Havinghurst, Robert and Russell, William. *Can We Re-educate the Enemy?* University of Chicago Round Table, May 21, 1944.

Duggan, Stephen. *A Professor at Large*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1943, Chapter XIV, "The United States and the Post-War World."

Elliott, Randle. *The Institute of International Education 1919-1944. Its Aims and Achievements During Twenty-Five Years*. Institute of International Education. 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, New York, September 1, 1944.

Hunt, Erling M., editor, "Citizens for a New York." *National Council for the Social Studies Yearbook*, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., 1944, Chapter 6, "Education for a New World Order" by Walter M. Kotschnig.

International Education Assembly, 1201 Sixteenth Street, Washington, D. C. *Education for International Security, 1943. Education for a Free Society, 1944.*

Johnson, George, "An International Office for Education." Reprint from *The Catholic Education Review*, 1326 Quincy Street, N. E., Washington 12, D. C., 1944, Vol. XLII No. 2, February, 1944.

Joint Commission of the Council for Education in World Citizenship and the London International Assembly. *Educa-*

- tion and the United Nations*. American Council on Public Affairs, 2153 Florida Avenue, Washington, D. C., 1943.
- Kandel, I. L., "Education and the Post-War Settlement" in *The United Nations and the Organization of Peace*. Third Report. Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. 8 West 40th Street, New York, New York, 1943.
- *Intellectual Cooperation; National and International*. National Committee of the United States of America on International Intellectual Cooperation. Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York, 1944.
- Kefauver, Grayson N. "Peace Aims Call for International Action in Education." Reprint from *New Europe*, 151 East 67th Street, New York, New York, May, 1943.
- Kotschnig, Walter M. "Problems of Education After the War" in *The Transitional Period; Second Report and Papers*. Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 8 West 40th Street, New York, New York, 1942.
- Leland, W. G., *International Cultural Relations*. Social Science Foundation, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, 1943.
- Marshall, James, *The Freedom to be Free*; New York: John Day Co., 1943.
- Melby, E. O., ed. *Mobilizing Educational Resources*. Sixth Yearbook of the John Dewey Society, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943. Chapter XVI, "Needed New Patterns of Control" by George S. Counts.
- National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators, Educational Policies Commission, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
- Education and the People's Peace*, 1943.
- Learning About Education and the Peace*, 1944.
- Let's Talk About Education and the People's Peace*, 1944.
- Let's Look at Education and the People's Peace*, 1944.

Two Addresses on Education and the People's Peace, 1944.

Robbins, John E. *International Planning for Education*. Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship, 166 Marlborough Avenue, Ottawa, Canada, 1944.

Schairer, Reinhold, *Educational Reconstruction in Europe After Hitler*. Address delivered at annual meeting of the Association of American Colleges, Pasadena, California, January 9, 1941.

Stanford University School of Education Faculty, *Education in Wartime and After*. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1943. Chapter 14, "After War—What for Education?"

Strebel, Ralph F., *Education for International Freedom and Justice*. The J. Richard Street Lecture for 1943. Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York.

Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street, New York City, Town Meeting Bulletins, American Education Press., Columbus, Ohio. *Must the United Nations Control the Education of the Axis Peoples?* 1944.

Universities Committee on Post-War International Problems, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts, *Education and World Peace*, 1943.

Dr. Koo's remarks at Dumbarton Oaks are included in the State Department Press Release issued during these conversations (No. 14, September 29, 1944, p. 3).

The quoted resolution of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace (Chapultepec) is Number XXX, page 41 of the Final Act as mimeographed in Mexico City and released by the State Department.

The Chinese Proposals were issued as Document No. 1 (General) of the San Francisco conference. The Congressional Resolutions are: House Joint Resolution 122, Senate 215. Mr. MacLeish's statement was in the NBC series "Our Foreign Policy," and may be secured from NBC or the State Department.

POST-WAR SOCIAL EDUCATION

Roy A. Price

War tends to stimulate national achievement in the form of invention and industrial development, but it often breaks down moral standards—personal and public—brings intellectual decline, and dulls idealism.

America's part in winning the war, her vast economic resources, and her position of leadership in international affairs have placed upon her a staggering responsibility to assist in building a world of freedom, well-being, and security. This nation can continue to bear that responsibility successfully only through constant emphasis upon the development of informed and thoughtful citizens, with courage, resourcefulness, and a drive to serve the common cause of international understanding. Thirty million youngsters now in school will be voters in fifteen or twenty years. Their attitudes, knowledge, and behavior will be largely dependent upon the kind of education they receive now.

In November 1944, the National Council for the Social Studies published a statement of policy for social studies teaching in the period following the war, under the title, "The Social Studies Look Beyond the War." The material had been prepared by an Advisory Commission of more than one hundred and fifty persons in the field of citizenship education. Since then the policies suggested have been widely quoted in educational periodicals and discussed at teachers' conventions throughout the country. The Commission's recommendations are briefly summarized below.

Experience in the war has reinforced the lesson of the interdependence of all nations and people. Just as communities and regions are interdependent, the economic conditions in any country depend at least in part upon the prosperity of other nations. Democracy has provided the framework within which our nation has grown great and powerful and has developed its traditions and ideals. The school as a democratic institution has responsibility for strengthening that democracy and for building loyalty to its tradition and ideals. But the nation cannot assume its proper place in the family of nations, and democracy cannot function effectively, unless citizens accept their personal responsibility for integrity in national and international life. These three themes, interdependence of peoples, expanding democracy, and integrity in personal, national, and international life are suggested as the basis for an effective program of citizenship education in the post-war period.

The Commission recognized that the problems which confront society in the post-war world—hunger and famine, political revolution, demobilization and reconversion—necessitate changes in methods of teaching and in the ends toward which the educational process is directed. It challenges us to develop an education for world citizenship, and to help to build the foundation for a world in which, along with greater general prosperity, there is also greater honesty. Not only the social studies program but all the forces of the school and the community must be mobilized to that end.

The war has created a high national deficit in education. Teacher shortages, shrinking enrollments, and curtailment of research and experimentation have created serious problems. But there have been encouraging developments too. Pupils have taken active part in community enterprises and wartime activities, and many teachers have emerged as more effective community

leaders. In the post-war period we must include in the curriculum this experience of participation in community life.

The Commission members recognized that curricula will and should continue to vary from section to section and community to community, but they also urged that each school system should plan carefully to insure that its curriculum present a coherent sequence of experiences in social education for every year of public education. After indicating the threat of modern war to destroy civilization and democracy, the Commission recommended eleven major areas of study to be included in the social studies program as follows:

1. International organization and cooperation offer the only practical hope of peace, security, and well-being.
2. Racial, religious, ethnic, and social-economic tensions must be reduced by understanding, unity, and respect for individual personality.
3. Democracy must be emphasized as a system of government, a way of life, and a set of principles for living and learning together in the schools.
4. Close relationships with the community are essential to the vitality of the school program in civic education.
5. The Social Studies Program affords opportunities for individual growth and adjustment.
6. Domestic problems, economic in their nature, need intensified consideration.
7. Consumer education is essential in an economy in which all face problems as consumers.
8. Geographical relationships have changed and grown in importance.
9. Americans need to be familiar with the history and civilization of other peoples.
10. The history, ideals, achievements, and world relation-

ships of the United States are central in the program of civic education.

11. The social studies are concerned with current affairs and the processes of molding public opinion.

Teachers are urged to adapt teaching procedures to the objectives sought and to take advantage of recent developments in visual and auditory aids and direct teaching methods. Utilization of the formula "teach how, show how, have do," is offered as representative of the best educational thinking. Greater attention must also be given to utilizing individual differences, developing techniques of inquiry and discussion, and providing methods of evaluating student progress.

Obviously it is necessary to make many adaptations in both pre-service and in-service teacher education if we are to develop teachers capable of meeting the challenge of post-war education. Better recruitment policies to insure candidates of higher caliber, broader academic preparation to provide a background of general education, adequate training in areas of special interest, extensive contacts with children, and experience in the management of affairs of a democratic society are among the factors which should be included in the education of prospective teachers. Participation in professional groups, workshops, curriculum study, reading, travel, and community affairs would contribute to effective in-service teacher training.

Education is our most important resource. The qualities shown by our fighting forces have demonstrated its value and effectiveness. If the nation can spend what it does for a war emergency, it can spend far greater amounts than in the past to prepare good teachers, to make good citizens, to buy good equipment to translate to youth the things that are American.

The task of education for more intelligent human relations is at first glance overwhelming, especially when one considers the

vast areas of human knowledge which must be included and the diversities of background and belief within our society. But great improvements in social education have already been made and there has been progress toward the recognition of a family of nations. The process of building a better world through the schools will be slow and often discouragingly difficult, but teachers can be supported in their convictions and buoyed up by their achievements if they realize how important even a small thing may be, such as stimulating a bright child's intellectual curiosity, or making a Negro boy feel proud of Booker T. Washington, or getting a child of foreign born parentage to bring his parents to a school entertainment. Through such small achievements many times multiplied we may begin to realize the potentialities of educational resources, build better communities, and diminish racial discrimination and the fomenting of divided loyalties.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

WILLIAM G. CARR, ASSOCIATE SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL Education Association and Secretary of its Educational Policies Commission, was a Consultant to the United States Delegation at the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco. He is currently serving as Chairman of the Liaison Committee for International Education, a group composed of thirty-nine educational organizations in the United States interested in education in international affairs, and is Chairman of the International Education Assembly. He was a United States Delegate to the Fifth International Conference on Documentation and the Eighth Pan American Child Welfare Conference.

Dr. Carr published *Education for World Citizenship*, one of the first books on the subject issued in the United States. He edited the September 1944 issue of the *Annals*, entitled "New Frontiers in International Education," and has written a number of reports for the Educational Policies Commission including *The Purposes of Education* and *Education and the People's Peace*. He has taught at Pacific University, Stanford University, University of California, University of Michigan and other institutions.

Dr. Carr wishes to add that he is "grateful to his wife, Elizabeth Vaughan Carr, because she has contributed the encouragement, the good advice, and the help which have made possible the activities and achievements (such as they are)" recorded above.

ROY A. PRICE, PROFESSOR OF SCIENCE AND EDUCATION AT SYRACUSE University, is Chairman of the Advisory Commission on Post-

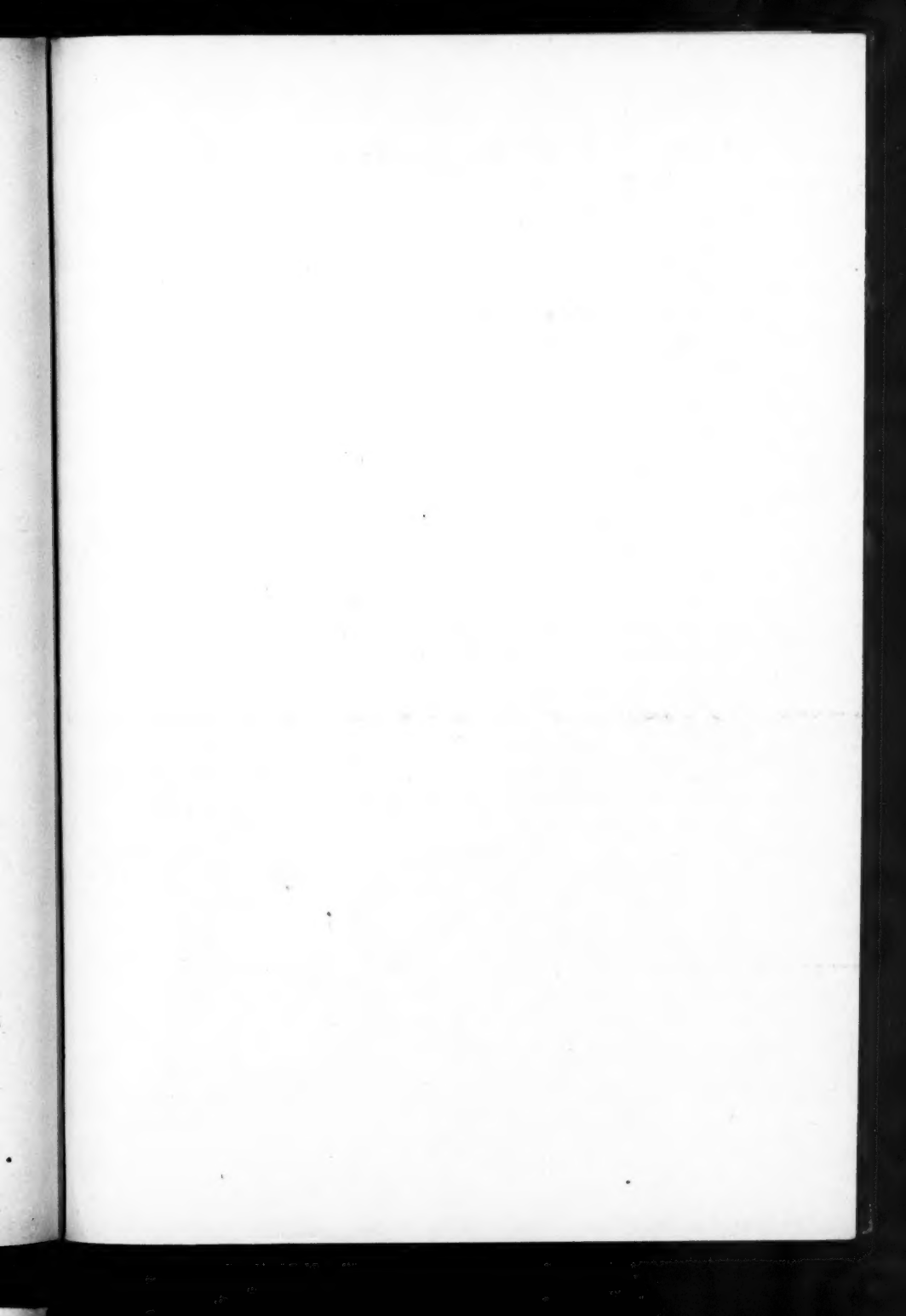
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War Policy of the National Council for the Social Studies, and a past president of the Council. He is a member of the Council's Board of Directors, and Secretary Treasurer of the New York State Council for the Social Studies.



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